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HISTORY
OF
THE ROMAN REPUBLIC.

BY J. MICHELET,
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TRANSLATED BY WILLIAM HAZLITT, ESQ.
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HISTORY

OF

THE ROMAN REPUBLIC.

INTRODUCTION.

THIS book is a history, and not a dissertation. Is it founded on the knowledge and critical appreciation of the original texts? The reader will be able to judge of this, on reading the notes. As to the text, criticism has little to do with it: the four first centuries of Rome occupy comparatively little of it. We will here say a few words as to the long controversy to which these centuries have given rise.

The doubt whether the traditional story of the origin of Rome is history, is not a doubt of yesterday. It was one of the first subjects to which the spirit of criticism applied itself on its awaking. After Rome had ceased to command the world by the swords of the legions, she ruled it by two texts—canon law, and civil law. She published this law not only as truth, as *written reason*, but also as authority. She sought legitimacy for it in the ancient domination of the empire, in its history. Men, after awhile, began to interrogate this history. The precursor of Erasmus, Lorenzo Valla, gave the signal for this in the beginning of the fifteenth century. In the sixteenth, a friend of Erasmus undertook the examination of Livy, but still with the same caution and timidity with which his prudent friend wrote upon the Bible. This critic, the first who occupied the chair of Belles Lettres in the college of France (1521), was a Swiss, the fellow countryman of Zuinglius. A native of Glaris, he was called Glareanus.

Switzerland is a land of reasoners. Despite that gigantic poem, the Alps, the breeze from the glaciers is prosaic; it breathes doubts.

In the seventeenth century, it was the turn of patient-toiling and serious Holland. The Scaligers and the Justus Lipsius, that modern antiquity of the Leyden university, itself almost as venerable as that which it explained, had imparted to criticism the authority of their omniscience. Into the study of history, and even into philology, there was introduced the spirit of doubt, the offspring of theological controversy, but gradually embracing infinite other objects. This spirit broke forth in the *Animadversiones* of the ingenious and minute Perizonius, professor at Leyden (1685). He compared and contrasted passages, exhibited the frequent contradictions of the so revered ancients, and made more than one long established belief of erudition tremble. "His book," says Bayle, "is the *errata* of historians and critics." The greatest title of Perizonius to our gratitude is, that he discovered the traces of the popular songs of primitive Rome amid the uniform and solemn rhetoric of Livy, and divined poetry under the romance.

At length, the great reformer appeared. He was a native of France, a Frenchman settled in Holland—Louis de Beaufort, tutor to the prince of Hesse-Hombourg, member of the royal society of London, which has comprehended so many free-soaring thinkers. He, as it were, commenced a process in form, a *quo warranto* against the established history of the first centuries of Rome. In his admirable little work (*De l'Incertitude, &c.*, 1738) which so well deserves to be reprinted, he with deep appreciation, investigated sources, and pointed out the gaps, the contradictions, the genealogical falsifications. This work prostrated the old romance to the earth. Raise it again who can.¹

¹ If any one could do this, it were the author of one of the last Roman histories published in France. *Si Pergama dextra defendi possent*. But the opinions of the author as to the certainty of the first centuries of Rome, cannot injure the really beautiful portions of his work; his chapters on the first relations of Rome with Greece, and upon Italy before the Gracchi.

Beaufort, however, had only destroyed. His criticism, wholly negative, was unfruitful, incomplete. He who can only doubt, is deficient in depth and breadth of view, even in doubt. To complete the destruction of the romance, to resume and re-create history, it was necessary to rise to the true idea of Rome. Every creation supposes an idea. The idea came from the land of idealism, from magnificent Greece, from the country of saint Thomas and Giordano Bruno. The genius of Pythagoras is the primitive inspiration of that land. But the entire world has made its additions: every race, every invasion, has left a thought there, as each eruption deposits a layer of lava. The Pelasgi and the Hellenes, the Etruscans and the Samnites, the Romans and the Barbarians, Lombards, Saracens, Normans, Suabians, Provençals, Spaniards, the whole human race, tribe by tribe, has appeared at the foot of this Vesuvius. The antique genius of numbers and the scholastic subtlety, spiritualist philosophy and the school of Salerno, the Roman law and feudal law, in their opposition, all coexisted there. And, above all this, there was a vast historical poetry, the inspiration of the tomb of Virgil, the echo of the two Tuscans who sang the two antiquities of Italy, Virgil¹ and Dante; finally, a melancholy reminiscence of the Etruscan doctrine of Ages, the thought of a regular rotation of the natural world and the civil world, where, under the eye of Providence, all nations unite in the eternal choir of life and death. There is Naples, there Vico.

In the vast system of the founder of the metaphysics of history, there already exist, at least in germ, all the labours of modern science. As Wolf, he has said that the *Iliad* was the work of a nation, its learned work and last expression, after many centuries of inspired poetry. Like Creuzer and Gœrres, he exhibited ideas and symbols in the heroic or divine figures of primitive history. Before Montesquieu, before Gans, he showed how law is the offspring of the manners of nations, and faithfully represents the whole progress of their history. All that Niebuhr was to discover by his vast researches, he divined; he made

¹ It is well known that Mantua is an Etruscan colony.

patrician Rome stand out in strong relief, and revived its *curiæ* and its *gentes*. Certainly, if Pythagoras remembered that he had, in a former existence, fought under the walls of Troy, these illustrious Germans ought perhaps to have remembered that they had all formerly lived in Vico.¹ All the giants of criticism, already and at their ease, find a place in this little pandemonium of the *Scienza Nuova* (1725).

The fundamental idea of the system is daring; more daring, perhaps, than the author himself suspected. It touches upon all the great political and religious questions which agitate the world. The instinct of Vico's adversaries did not fail them here; hatred is ever sharp sighted. Fortunately the book was dedicated to Clement XII. The apocalypse of the *new science* was placed upon the altar, until time should break open *its seven seals*.

The text of the *Scienza Nuova* is this: *Humanity is its own work*. God acts upon it, but through it. Humanity is divine, but no one man is divine. Those mythic heroes, the Hercules whose arms burst asunder mountains, those Lycurgus' and those Romulus', swift legislators, who, in the space of one man's life, accomplished the tardy work of ages, are the creations of the thought of nations. God alone is great. When man desired to have men-gods, he was fain to heap whole generations in one person; to combine in one hero the conceptions of a whole poetic cycle. It was thus they obtained historic idols—a Romulus, a Numa. The people remained prostrate before these gigantic phantoms. Philosophy raises them, and says to them: That which you adore is yourselves, your own conceptions. Hereupon these fantastic and inexplicable figures, which floated in the air, objects of a puerile admiration, re-descend within our reach; they quit poetry to enter the realms of science. The miracles of the individual genius are ranged under the common law; the equalizing hand of criticism passes over the human race. This his-

² Let us add, our Ballanche, a great poet, a holy spirit, a genius compounded of Alexandrian subtlety and Christian candour. The breath of Vico fell upon Ballanche. The latter, indeed, too wholly refers himself to Vico, seeming to hold in small account all that science and life have taught us since the days of the Neapolitan philosopher.

torical radicalism does not go the length of suppressing the great men; there doubtless remain some who rise above the crowd to the height of the head or the waist, but their foreheads are no longer lost in the clouds: they are no longer of another species; humanity may recognise itself in all its history, one and identical.

What is more original, is the having proved that these historic fictions were a necessity of our nature. Humanity, at first material and gross, could not, in languages still altogether concrete, express abstract thought, but by realising it; by giving it a body, a human personality, and a proper name. The same need of simplification, so natural to weakness, occasioned, also, the designating a collection of individuals by the name of one man. This mythic man, this son of the popular thought, expressed, at once, the people and the idea of the people. Romulus is force, and the people of force; Juda, divine election, and the people elected.

Thus humanity starts from the symbol in history, in law, and in religion. But from the materialised, individualised idea, it rises to the pure and general idea. In the motionless chrysalis of the symbol is operated the mystery of the transformation of the mind; this spreads and grows as far as it can; it at length bursts its envelope, which then falls, dried up and withered! This is manifest, more especially in law; law dates its revolutions and engraves them upon brass. Those of religions, languages, and literatures, need to be illumined and filled up by the history of legislation and jurisprudence. Rome, the world of law, necessarily occupied a large space in the history of the human species; the struggle of the symbol and of the idea, of the letter and the spirit, is nowhere more visible or more dramatic.

Vico has viewed, in the example of the Roman law, this general law of the movement of humanity. He has discovered the true explanation of the Roman grandeur, which Montesquieu had not suspected; it is, that this *double* people, at once conservative and innovating, adopting every new idea, but slowly and after a struggle, grew only in fortifying themselves. "In changing the form of government," says he, "Rome always rested on the same principles, which were no other than those of the human

society. That which gave to the Romans the wisest jurisprudence, is also that which rendered their empire the most vast and durable of all."

Thus, intent upon Rome, Vico beheld the world under the symmetrical form of the city. He considered the movement of humanity as an eternal rotation, *corso, ricorso*. He did not perceive, or at least he does not say so, that if humanity proceeds in circles, the circles are ever growing larger. Hence, the narrow and pettily ingenious character which his book assumes as it reaches the middle ages. The genius of number and of rhythm, of which I have elsewhere spoken, ever sets a limit to the conceptions of Italy. The *Inferno* of Dante, so well designed and proportioned in the harmony of its nine circles, is all depth from heaven to hell; it is not broad and vague, like that of Milton. In its narrow height, it embodies every terror but one—that of the Infinite. The world of the north is far differently vague from that of the south; less determinable, more undecided, like a newly commenced creation. The landscapes of the Apennines are severe, of regular outline. There is in the south something exquisite and refined, but dry, like aromatics. If you would have life and freshness, go to the north, into the depths of forests without end or limit, under the green oak, watered by the continuous rains. There are still found the barbarian races, with their blond hair, their ruddy cheeks, their eternal youth. It is their lot to revive the green age of the world; Rome was once renewed by the invasion of the men of the north; and there was needed, too, a man of the north, a barbarian, to revive the history of Rome.

"In my country," says Niebuhr, proudly, "in the country of the Dithmarsians, there has never been a serf." This small and energetic population maintained itself free to the seventeenth century, against the great states which surround it. There, amidst such infinite revolutions, has the spirit of individual independence of the old Saxon tribes been preserved. The Germans, according to Tacitus, lived apart, and did not like to shut themselves up in towns. The Dithmarsians are still scattered about in villages. The feudal spirit of the middle ages never pene-

trated their marshes. They, with the Frisians, are the best representatives of primitive Germany.

The son of a celebrated orientalist, a man of the north, Niebuhr, looked neither to the north nor to the east. He early left finances and politics¹ to turn his thoughts towards Rome. As soon as the Austrian armies had once more thrown Italy open to the Germans, in 1815, he also took the field, and commenced his successful invasion. His first victory, like that of the great Theodoric, was at Verona. He had scarcely entered that city, when, in its library, he put his hand upon the manuscript of the *Institutes* of Gaius, which had been lying there for so many years unnoticed, unknown. Thence he victoriously advanced to Rome, bearing with him, as *spolia opima*, the precious palimpsest, and bearded the abbé Mai in the very Vatican.

And doubtless, the triumphant barbarian had claims upon a city to which he brought back its ancient laws in all the purity of their primitive text. He took possession of Rome by right of occupation, *tanquam in rem nullius*, and set up his *prætorium* in the theatre of Marcellus. Issuing thence, day after day for four years, he daringly *rummaged* the old city, and questioned it, and distributed it, like a master, among the races who founded it; now to the Etruscans, now to the Latins.² He stirred up the dust of the kings of Rome, and dissipated the shadows which had for so many centuries played before the eyes of mankind. Italy looked on and groaned; but the prediction was to be accomplished, as in the time of Alaric: *Barbarus! heu! cineres.... ossa Quirini, nefas videre! dissipabit insolens.*

He has destroyed, but he has also re-constructed; re-constructed, as he might, doubtless: his book is as the *Forum boarium*, so imposing with all its monuments, well or ill-restored. You often feel the Gothic hand, but it is

¹ Director of the bank of Copenhagen; councillor to the king of Prussia.

² Whatever the mutations of opinion in Niebuhr, it is his glory, so far back as 1812, (twelve years before the appearance of Thierry's admirable work,) to have thoroughly appreciated the importance of the question of races.

always wonderful to see with what power the barbarian raises these enormous ruins.

It must be admitted, Niebuhr knew antiquity as antiquity did not always know itself. What, compared with him, are Plutarch and many other Greeks, in the comprehension of the rude genius of the primitive ages? He all the better understands ancient barbarian Rome, that he bore something of her in himself. He is as one of the long-haired authors of the Salic law, Wisogast or Windogast, who, having gained the right of citizenship, sits with the sage Coruncanius, the subtle Scaevola, and old Cato. Do not venture to attack this colleague of the decemvirs, or to speak lightly of him.

And now that this great man himself is no more, he has left in his city of Rome a German colony, who have just completed the inventory and description of their conquest.¹

And we, Frenchmen, shall we not claim some portion of this Rome, which once was ours? The long and broad German sword is heavy, no doubt; but is not that of France of keener edge? For my part, I could not consent to remain silent; even in the first pages of my work, where alone I encounter that of Niebuhr,* I have not servilely followed him; I have often stood aloof from his audacious hypotheses. I know that it is often impossible to present a serious history of an age, almost all the monuments of which have perished. Italy furnished the idea, Germany the sap and the life. What remains for France to supply? Method, perhaps, and exposition. A complete exposition of the development of a nation throws light also upon its cradle. To discover origins, we should not, perhaps, always grope about in the darkness which surrounds them, but stand amid the light of better known periods, and direct that light upon the uncertain periods. In other words, we can only judge of an organized body by its ensemble; the knowledge of its parts, and of their harmonious proportions, can merely authorise induction as to that which is and always will be wanting.

What I have said here must only be understood of the

¹ *Description of Rome*, by MM. Bunsen, Gherard, &c., first volume, geological and physical part.

four first centuries of Rome. As to those which follow, up to the end of the republic, all has to be done. Germany furnishes no aid. There still remains to be told, what we think we know, and what we know we know not, as to what men Hannibal and Cæsar were; how, from Scipio to Marcus Aurelius, Rome was conquered by Greece and the East, which she thought to conquer. There still remains to be followed, in its devouring progress, from the Gracchi to Marius, from Marius to Pompey and Cicero, the power of the equestrian order, of that usurious aristocracy which depopulated Italy, and then, by degrees, the provinces; usurping all estates and having them cultivated by slaves, or leaving them in pasture.

As to the empire, its history turns upon four points: the last development of Roman law; the first development of Christianity, considered in itself, and in its struggle with the philosophy of Alexandria; and finally, the contest between the Roman genius and the German genius. However great my admiration of the subtle erudition of Gibbon, I will venture to say that these four points have been but touched upon in his immense work.

There are in this first part of my work various unavoidable hiatus, and several which are intentional. I have often spoken of slavery, but not sufficiently; I have scarcely indicated the points of departure of Roman laws, and that of Latin literature. These developments will more fitly find a place in the second part. It was enough for me here to point out the unity of the finest life of a people that ever was. One word as to this unity, and as to the divisions of which it is susceptible.

Roman civilization has three ages. The *Italian*, or national age, ends with Cato the elder. The *Greek* age, commenced under the influence of the Scipios, produces as its fruit in literature, the age of Augustus; in philosophy, Marcus Aurelius. Lastly, the Oriental spirit introduced into Rome, more slowly and with far greater difficulty, ends with vanquishing the conquerors of the East, and imposing its gods upon them. Cybele is brought to Italy so early as the second Punic war, but four hundred years more elapse, ere two Syrians, Heliogabalus and Alexander Severus, establish the gods of their country. Another

century passes ere Christianity, with Constantine, takes possession of the empire.

The political history of Rome, that of the Roman city, allows of an analogous division. 1. In the first epoch the *city* forms and organizes itself by the levelling and mingling of the two nations, contained within its walls—patricians and plebeians; the work is completed about the year 350 before the Christian era. 2. In the second epoch, the *empire* forms itself by conquest, by the mingling and levelling of all foreign nations; the empire is formed, but the city is dissolved, and loses its identity. Up to the wars of Numantia and Numidia inclusive, or, if you prefer it, until the social war (about a hundred years B. C.) Rome subjects the world, and gains subjects; from the social or Italian war, she makes Romans, citizens. The Italians having once broken down the gates of the city, every people gradually enters it.

The ordinary division into the *Republic* and the *Empire*, has, however, one great advantage. The moment in which Rome ceases to fluctuate between several chiefs, in order to obey one sole general or emperor, coincides with the Christian era. The empire unites and settles, as if to receive with more collected earnestness the Word of Judea and of Greece. This Word bears within it life and death; like that terrible liquor, of which one single drop killed Alexander, and which neither steel nor diamond could hold; it must needs spread; it bursts its vase, it dissolves the city which receives it. At the same time that, by the proscription of the Roman aristocracy and the equality of the civil law, the imperial levelling begins, the Christian levelling gradually and silently gains ground. The invincible republic rises upon the ruins of the other, which knows not of it—Jesus Christ dies under Tiberius.

BOOK THE FIRST.

ITALY.

CHAPTER I.

ASPECT OF ROME AND OF MODERN LATIUM.

FROM the summit of the Apennines, whose long chain, extending from Lombardy to Sicily, forms, as it were, the dorsal spine of Italy, descend towards the west two deep and rapid rivers—the Tiber, and the Anio—*Tevere*, *Teverone*; they unite in order then to fall together into the sea. In a remote antiquity, the lands situate to the north of the Tiber and the south of the Anio were occupied by two civilized nations—the Tusci and the Osci, or Ausonii. Between the two rivers and the two nations, the barbarian and warlike country of the Sabines stretched in the form of a lance-head towards the sea. It was toward the point of this *delta*, that, seven or eight hundred years before our era, Rome arose, the great Italian city, who, unfolding her bosom to the various races by which she was surrounded, subjected Italy by Latium, and by Italy the world.

This country is now depopulated; of the thirty-five tribes, the majority are scarce represented by a half ruined *villa*.¹ Although Rome is still a great city, the desert commences within its very walls. The foxes who hide themselves all day in the ruins of the Palatine hill, go at night to drink in the Velabrum.² The flocks of goats, the great oxen, the half-wild horses you meet there, in the very midst of the noise and luxury of a modern capital, recal to you the solitude which surrounds the city. If you pass the gates, direct your steps towards one of the

¹ Bonstetten, *Voyage sur le theatre des six derniers livres de l'Eneide*.

² *Id. ib.* 13.

blue summits which crown this melancholy landscape, and follow, across the Pontine marshes, the indestructible Ap-pian way, you will find tombs, aqueducts, perhaps even some deserted farm, with its monumental arches; but no cultivation, no movement, no life; at distances, a flock, guarded by a ferocious dog, which flies upon the passers-by like a wolf, or a buffalo, raising its black head above the marshes, while, in the east, flocks of rooks stoop from the mountains with hoarse croakings. If you turn to-wards Ostia or Adea, you will probably see a few miser-able creatures in rags, hideously meagre, and trembling with ague. In the beginning of the present century, a traveller found in Ostia no other population than three old women who were taking care of the town during the summer. His young guide, a boy of fifteen, who shared his provisions, said to him, his eye glittering with fever: "And I also know what meat is; I tasted it once."¹

Amidst this misery and desolation, the country pre-serves a singularly imposing and grand character. Those lakes upon mountains, in a frame, as it were, of beautiful beeches and superb oaks; that Nemi, the mirror of the Tauric Diana, *speculum Dianæ*; that Albano, the antique seat of the religions of Latium; those heights, which command the plain on every side, form a crown worthy of Rome. It is from Monte Musino, the *ara mutiæ* of the Etruscans²—it is from its dark and gloomy grove that you should contemplate the Poussin landscape. In days of storm, more especially when the heavy sirocco weighs down upon the plain, and the dust rises in whirling eddies, then does the capital of the world appear in all her sombre majesty.

When you have passed the Piazza del Popolo, and the Egyptian obelisk which adorns it, you will proceed down the long and mournful Strada del Corso, which yet is the most animated street in Rome. Follow it to the Capitol; mount the Senators' palace between the statue of Marcus Aurelius and the trophies of Marius, and you find your-self in the very asylum of Romulus, *intermontium*. This

¹ Bonstetten, *Voyage sur le theatre des six derniers livres de l'Enceide*.

² See, respecting this mountain, Sir W. Gell's *Topography of the Environs of Rome*.

elevated spot separates the town of the living from the town of the dead. In the first, which covers the ancient Campus Martius, you distinguish the columns of Trajan and Antoninus, the Pantheon, and the most daring edifice of the modern world, Saint Peter's.

Turn: under your feet you behold the Forum, the *Via triumphalis*, and the modern hospital of the Consolation near the Tarpeian rock. Here are heaped up confusedly all the ruins, all the ages of antiquity; the arches of Septimus Severus and of Titus, the columns of Jupiter Tonans and of Concord. Beyond, on the Palatine hills, are melancholy ruins, the sombre foundations of the imperial palaces. Further on, still to the left, the enormous mass of the Coliseum. This unique spectacle drew a cry of admiration and horror from the philosopher, Montaigne.¹

¹ "M. de Montaigne observed: 'that there is nothing to be seen of ancient Rome but the sky under which it had risen and stood, and the outline of its form; that the knowledge he had of it was altogether abstract and contemplative, no image of it remaining to satisfy the senses; that those who said that the ruins of Rome at least remained, said more than they were warranted in saying; for the ruins of so stupendous and awful a fabric would enforce more honour and reverence for its memory; nothing, he said, remained of Rome but its sepulchre. The world, in hatred of its long domination, had first destroyed and broken in pieces the various parts of this wondrous body; and then, finding that, even though prostrate and dead, its disfigured remains still filled them with fear and hate, they buried the ruins itself; that the few indications of what it had been, which still tottered above its grave, fortune had permitted to remain there, as some evidence of the infinite greatness which so many ages, so many intestine and parricidal blows, and the never-ending conspiracy of the world against it, had not been able entirely to extinguish; but that, in all probability, even the disfigured members that did remain, were the least worthy of all those that had existed, the malignant fury of the enemies of that immortal glory having impelled them to destroy, in the first instance, that which was finest and most worthy of preservation in the imperial city; that the buildings in this bastard Rome, which the moderns were raising upon, or appending to, the glorious structures of the antique world, though they sufficed enough to excite the admiration of the present age, yet seemed to him to bear a close resemblance to those nests, which the rooks and the swallows construct upon the roofs and walls of the churches in France, which the Huguenots have demolished. Nay, when he considered the space which this tomb occupies, he feared that the real extent, even of that, was not known; he doubted whether the greater portion of the grave itself had not been buried; it appeared

The colossal amphitheatre, (*Coliseum*), where so many Christians have suffered martyrdom, effaces by its grandeur every other human work. It is a monstrous mountain of stones, a hundred and fifty-seven feet high by sixteen

to him that the enormous pile which, years ago, was formed merely of such miserable diggings-up, as bits of tiles and broken pots, a pile which had attained the height and size of many natural mountains* (for he considered it to be as high as the hill of Gnrson, and twice as large), was an express ordinance of fate, to let the world thoroughly understand, by this strange and amazing proof of grandeur, how surpassing was the glory and pre-eminence of the city against which they had conspired. He said he could not at all comprehend, when he saw the limited space of some of these seven hills, especially the most famous, such as the Capitoline and the Palatine, how they could have held so great a number of buildings as have been ascribed to them. Merely looking at the remains of the Temple of Peace, the site of the Forum Romanum, the ruins of which look like a mighty mountain, just fallen asunder, he could hardly understand how two such edifices could stand even on the whole space of the Capitoline hill, yet, beside these, there were on the hill twenty-five or thirty temples, besides a number of private houses. But, in truth, many of the conjectures which one has formed from pictures of the ancient city, are not at all borne out, when you get there, for even the site has undergone infinite changes; some of the valleys are filled up, even the deepest of them; such, for instance, as the *Velabrum*, which, on account of its lying so low, was selected as the main sewer of the city, and formed a water-course; even this has now become as high as the other natural mountains which surround it, and this has solely been done by the gradual agglomeration of the ruins of old Rome; so, the *Monte Savello* is nothing but the heaped-up ruins of part of the theatre of Marcellus. He fully believed that an ancient Roman, could one be brought back, would not be able to recognise the place. It has more than once happened that, after digging a long way down, the workmen have come to the top of some high column, which still remained standing on its base far beneath. The modern architects never think of looking for any other foundation for their houses than the tops of old buildings, the roofs of which ordinarily form the floors of modern cellars, deeming it in no way necessary to make any examination as to the foundation of the old edifice itself, or the stability of its walls; they securely base their own structure upon the ruined tops of the structure below, just as chance has happened to dispose them during the lapse of ages, and here they raise their modern palaces, as firm and safe as though the foundations were solid rocks. There are many whole streets that stand above the old ones full thirty feet.”—*Montaigne's Journey to Italy*, by Hazlitt, p. 571.

“On arriving, I fell on my knees, raised my hands to heaven, and exclaimed: ‘Hail, holy Rome, made holy by the holy martyrs, and by the blood which has been spilt here.’”—*Michelet's Life of Luther*, EUROPEAN LIBRARY.

* The *Monte Testaccio*.

hundred and forty in circumference. This mountain, half ruined, but richly decorated by nature, has its plants, its trees, its flowers. Modern barbarism has derived entire palaces from it, as from a quarry. The destination of this monument of murder, in which Trajan caused ten thousand captives to perish in a hundred days, is everywhere visible in its ruins; you still see the two doors, at one of which the living entered, while through the other they carried out the dead bodies, *sanavivaria*, *sandapilaria*.¹

At the door of the Coliseum, is the fountain, wherein, according to tradition, gladiators were wont, after the combat, to wash their wounds. The pillar of this fountain was also the first mile-stone of the empire, all the roads of the Roman world were reckoned from this monument of slavery and death.

Beyond the Coliseum and Mount Palatine, and beyond the Aventine, Rome is prolonged by its tombs. There you find the subterranean sepulchre of the Scipios, the pyramid of Cestius, the tower of Cecilia Metella, and the catacombs, the asylum and tomb of the martyrs, which, it is said, extend beneath Rome, and even beneath the bed of the Tiber.²

Contemplated thus from the Capitol, this tragic city readily presents, in its principal monuments, the progress and unity of its history. The Forum exhibits to you the republic; the Pantheon of Augustus and Agrippa, the reunion of all nations and the gods of the ancient world in one empire and one temple. This monument of the central epoch of Roman history occupies the central point of Rome, whilst, at the two extremities, you behold in the Coliseum the first struggles of Christianity, and in the church of Saint Peter, its triumph and domination.³

¹ *Passio SS. Perpetuæ et Felicitatis*, c. 10, apud Rainard. See also Sidonis Apollinar. ep. 2.

² See *Les Catacombes de Rome*. See also d'Agincourt, *Hist. de l'art par les Monumens*.

³ Livy, v. 54. See further, as to the advantages and disadvantages of the position of Rome, Goëthe, *Autobig.* 3. 1; the work of Messrs. Bunsen and Gherard on Rome; Breislak. *Physic. and Lytholog. Travels*, ii. 246 (as to the geological character of the soil). Pliny, iii. 6; xxxvii. 77; *Memoires de Napoleon*, iii.: *Memorial of St. Helena*, Sept. 1816.

CHAPTER II.

DESCRIPTION OF ITALY.

BEAUTIFUL Italy, between the glaciers of the Alps and the fires of Vesuvius and of Etna, seems thrown in the centre of the Mediterranean, as a prey to the elements and to the races of men. Whilst the snows of the Alps and the Apennines continually threaten to flood the northern part, the lands of the south are buried beneath the lava of the volcanoes, or overthrown by internal convulsions.

A thing apparently contradictory, this country, celebrated for the purity of its sky, is that, of all Europe, where the earth receives the greatest quantity of rain-water.¹ The reason is, that the rain here scarcely ever falls but in great storms. The slopes are abrupt; let but one day's heat melt the snow on the mountains, a brook which scarce trickled over a strand, two hundred feet wide, becomes a torrent, overflowing its banks. In the fourteenth century, a storm of rain well nigh swept away the city of Florence. All the rivers of Italy bear this character of capricious violence; all wash down from the mountains a slime which gradually raises their beds, and would spread them over the adjacent plains, if they were not supported by dykes. The sea itself seems, in several places, threatening to invade the lands on the western coast. Whilst it has retired from Ravenna and Adria,² it is daily filling up the port of Leghorn with sand, and when the Southern wind blows, refuses to receive the tributary streams;³ this,

¹ Micali, 213.

² A village near Ravenna is called *Classis*, The port of Adria is now eight leagues inland.

³ The direction and distribution of the waters, the abrupt variations of beds, the whole economy of irrigation occupied an important place in Roman legislation. Tacit. *Annal.* 1: "It was next proposed to the senate, by Arruntius and Meius, whether, in order to restrain the overflowing of the Tiber, a new course should be given to the rivers and lakes by which it was swelled; upon this question the deputies of several cities and colonies were heard. The Florentines besought that

perhaps, would render it impossible ever to drain the Maremma and the Pontine marshes.¹

But it is Lombardy especially which is menaced by the waters.² The Po is above the level of the house-tops of Ferrara.³ As soon as the waters rise above the ordinary level, the entire population fly to the dykes: the inhabitants of this district are engineers, under pain of death.

Northern Italy is a basin inclosed by the Alps, and traversed by the Po; several great rivers, which descend from the mountains, the Tesino, the Adda, &c., all contribute to swell the Po, and give to it a character of change and of temporary fury, which one would not expect to find in a stream which waters such flat plains. This country owes to the slime of so many rivers an extraordinary fertility.⁴ But the rice fields which you meet with in every direction, tell you that you are in one of the most humid countries in the world. The utmost power of an Italian sun scarce suffices to heat the earth; nor can it at all produce the vine between Milan and the Po.⁵

Throughout Lombardy, the towns stand in the plains, like the villages of the Celts, who founded them. The vegetables of the north and the Celtic accent, tell you as far as Bologna, and beyond, that you are in the midst of populations of northern origin. The sun is burning, the vine essays to climb the trees, but the horizon is ever closed in with snow.

On leaving Liguria, the entangled chains of the Apen-

the bed of the Clanis might not be turned into their river Arnus; for that the same would prove their utter ruin. A similar objection was urged by the Interannates, since the most fruitful plains in Italy would be lost if, according to the project, the Nar, branched out into a rivulet, overflowed them; nor did the Reatinians fail to remonstrate against stopping the outlets of the lake Velinus into the Nar; for, they said, it would overflow the adjacent country."

¹ Vitruvius, in common with some modern writers, considers that the Pontine marshes have no flow because they are below the level of the sea.

² Rammazini, *De Fontibus Mutimensibus*. Near Modena, and in Sicily, there are volcanoes which throw up mud.

³ Prony, *Architecture Hydraulique*.

⁴ See, on the peculiar fertility of Italy, Pliny, xviii. 2, 18; Columella, iii. 3; Dickson's *Roman Agricult.* 1.

⁵ Sismondi, *Agric. de Toscane*, p. 175.

nines, rising from the last Alps, stretch to the south the whole length of Italy; and beyond Italy, into Sicily, where they rise high as the Alps, in the enormous mass of Etna.¹ Thus the whole peninsula is divided into two long strips of earth. The eastern, the March of Ancona, the Abruzzi, Apulia, is a land of secondary, or more frequently, of tertiary formation, identical with that of Illyria and of the Morea, from which the Adriatic alone separates it. The western side, on the contrary, (Tuscany, Latium, the Terra di Lavoro, Calabria,) is a land everywhere marked by the traces of fire, a land which, but for the sea, would form one country with Corsica, Sardinia, and Sicily.² Thus the Apennines not only divide Italy; they separate two vast geological systems, of which they are the point of contact; their chain, in many places double, is the junction of the borders of two basins, the one of which has for its bed the Adriatic, the other the sea of Tuscany.³

The aspect of the two coasts of Italy is not less different than their geological nature. Towards the Adriatic, there are meadow lands, forests, and torrents, whose course is always in a straight line, which pass at a bound from the mountains to the sea, and which often cut off all communication.⁴ These torrents must have isolated and kept in a barbarian state the shepherds, who in ancient times were the only inhabitants of their rugged valleys. If we except Apulia, the temperature of this coast of Italy is colder. It is colder at Bologna than at Florence, although both are under much the same latitude.⁵

Upon the coast of Tuscany, Latium, and the Campania, the principal rivers leisurely meander through the interior of the land; they are natural routes; the Clanis and the

¹ At its base, Etna has a circumference of 100 miles. Its extreme height above the level of the sea is 10,484 feet.

² See Brocchi, *Geol. de l'Italie*, and Broué's geological map of Europe.

³ In the whole of the account of the physical character of Italy, I am sanctioned by the high authority of M. Elie de Beaumont.

⁴ The March of Ancona is no exception. "The soil of Picenum," says Strabo (V.), "is better for fruits than for grain." A portion, cleared at an early period of its wood, has lost the common characteristic of this coast.

⁵ At Bologna there is but one harvest, at Florence two.—Sismondi, *ut sup.*

Tiber lead from Etruria to Latium, the Liris from Latium to Campania. Despite the ravages of inundations and volcanoes, these fertile valleys invited agriculture, and seemed marked out to receive young nations, as in a cradle of corn, wine, and olives.

When you pass from Lombardy to Tuscany, the country assumes a singularly picturesque character. The towns stand upon eminences, the villages cling to the mountain sides like eagles' nests. The fields rise in terraces, in graduated slopes, which sustain the earth against the rapidity of the waters. The vine, mingling its foliage with that of the poplars and elms, hangs in clusters of varied grace. The pale olive-tree modifies in every direction the tints; its light foliage communicates to the country a transparent and ærial aspect. Between Massa and Pietra Santa, where the road for several leagues traverses whole forests of olive-trees, you would almost fancy yourself in the Elysium of Virgil.

In the more elevated regions, where the olive does not grow, rise the chestnut, the robust oak, and even the pine. The fir is scarce met with beyond the Alps. From October to May, descend the hardy mountaineers, leading their flocks to the Maremma or Campagna of Rome; returning in the summer to the mountains, where the grass continues fresh but short, under the shade of the broad chestnuts. The flocks of the dusty plains of Apulia return every summer to the Abruzzi. The toll they pay on entering the mountains was the readiest and clearest revenue of the kingdom of Naples. It was one of the principal causes of the war between Louis XII. and Ferdinand the Catholic (1524).

Until we enter the kingdom of Naples, excepting the vine and the olive, we scarcely meet with southern vegetation; but once in the happy Campania (*Campania Felix*), whole woods of orange-trees are to be seen. Here commences those plants of Africa which almost frighten us Europeans; the palm, the cactus, and the thorny aloe. The ancients placed upon this coast the palace of Circe. The true Circe, with her terrors and her seductions, is the nature of the south. It appears in this delightful country, under an aspect of unlimited power and homicidal violence.

"See Naples, and then die," says the Italian proverb; and certainly, nowhere else are life and death brought into such abrupt and immediate contrast. In that enchanted bay, amidst *this heaven fallen upon earth*, (*un pezzo di cielo caduto in terra*,) sleep the buried towns of Pompeii and Herculaneum, whilst in the horizon is the incessantly smoking pyramid of Vesuvius. At its side the Phlegæan fields, bristling with old craters; in front, the rock of Capri.

Nothing can give an accurate idea of the fertility of this plain; it maintains five thousand inhabitants the square mile. So, when you have passed the gloomy defiles and deserts of the Calabrian Sylæ,¹ and descend to the noble shores of Magna Græca, to the ruins of Crotona and the site of Sybaris,² the vegetation is so powerful, that grass browsed in the evening, springs up again ere the morning. But it is more especially towards the point of Italy, quitting that forest of gigantic chestnuts which crowns Scylla, where one embraces at a glance both Italy and Sicily, and the colossal amphitheatre of Etna, which, covered with snow, burns like a perpetual altar in the centre of the Mediterranean; it is then that the traveller utters a cry of admiration, on reaching this sublime termination to the road he has pursued from the Alps. This valley of Reggio combines all sorts of recollections—of Ulysses and the Punic wars; Hannibal and the Arabs and their conquerors, the Normans; but it is still more charming from its fresh breezes, and its trees laden with oranges. Sometimes, during the great heats, the currents stop, the sea rises several feet, and if the air becomes thick and stormy, you see at daybreak every object on the two coasts reflected in the horizon, and multiplied under colossal forms. This is what is now called the fairy Morgana (*Fata Morgana*.)

From Nicotera in Calabria, you already observe Etna; and by night, the flame of Stromboli is seen rising from the isles. These two volcanoes, which form a triangle with

¹ The forest of Brutium, whence Rome and Syracuse derived the materials for their fleets. The vast wood extending between Paula and Castrovillari, a distance of twenty-five miles, has no other inhabitants than wolves and wild boars.

² See, *Sejour d'un officier Français en Calabre, de 1807 à 1810*.

Vesuvius, appear to communicate with it, and for the last two thousand years, the eruptions of Vesuvius and of Etna have always alternated.¹ It is probable that they succeeded the extinct volcanoes of Latium and Etruria. It would seem that a long train of volcanic matter extends under the soil, from the Po to Sicily.² Some leagues from Piacenza, there has been found, underground, the great city of Velia, the capital of thirty cities. The lakes of Thrasymene, of Bracciano, of Bolsena, and another in the Ciminian forest, are the craters of volcanoes, and people have often seen, or thought they saw, beneath their waters, buried towns. Mount Albano, Mount Preneste, and those of the Hernici, have thrown out flames.³ From Naples to Cumæ alone, sixty-nine craters are found.⁴ These convulsions have more than once changed the aspect of the country in the strangest manner. The Lucrine lake, once celebrated for its fish and naumachea, is now nothing but a marsh, partly filled up with the Monte-Nuovo, which was thrown up in 1538. On the other side of the Monte-Nuovo is Averno, *quem non impuné volantes*, and which, on the contrary, is now limpid and full of fish.

Herculaneum is buried beneath a mass ninety-two feet in depth. To produce such a heap, it would almost seem that Vesuvius itself must have been projected into the air. We have precise details as to several eruptions; among others, that of 1794.⁵ On the 12th of June, from ten in the evening to four in the morning, the lava descended to the sea, in a stream 12,000 feet long, and 1500 feet wide, and ran into it to the length of sixty fathoms. The volcano vomited forth matter equivalent to a cube of 2,804,440 fathoms. The town of Torre del Greco, inhabited by 15,000 persons, was overthrown; at ten or twelve miles from Vesuvius, at mid-day, people had to walk by the light of torches. The ashes lay 14½

¹ Except those of 1682 and 1776.

² According to the conjecture of Spallanzani.

³ See the learned memoir of M. Pelet-Radel, on the veracity of Dionysius of Halicarnassus.

⁴ Breislak, *Voyage Phys. et Lithol. dans la Campagne*, i. 18.

⁵ *Id. ib.*

inches deep for three miles around the mountain. The flames and smoke rose seven times higher than the volcano.¹ Then came a fortnight of impetuous rain, which carried everything before it—houses, trees, bridges, and roads; killed men, animals, and tore up trees by the very roots, except pear-trees and olives, which remained green and vigorous.

These disasters are nothing, however, compared with the fearful earthquake of 1783, in which Calabria thought itself about to be overwhelmed. Towns and villages crumbled away, mountains were thrown down; populations fleeing from the heights, took refuge on the coast: the sea quitted its bed, and engulfed them. The number of killed was estimated at forty thousand.²

CHAPTER III.

THE PELASGIANS.

WITH the ante-historical revolutions of the volcanos of Etruria and Latium, Lemnos, Samothrace, and many islands of the Mediterranean, analogous convulsions correspond in the history of nations. With this old world of exhausted craters and extinct volcanoes, is buried a world of lost nations, a fossil race, so to speak, of whom criticism has exhumed and united a few bones. This race is no less than that of the founders of the Italian society.

The civilization of Italy is the work neither of the Iberian population of Lygurs, nor of the Umbrian Celts, still less that of the Slaves, Venetcs or Vendes, not even of the Hellenic colonies which, a few centuries before the Christian era, established themselves in the south of Italy. It appears to have had as its principal author, the unfortunate race of the Pelasgians, elder sister to the Hellenic race, equally proscribed and persecuted throughout the world, both by the Hellenes and by the

¹ See de Buch, *Journal de physique*, An. vii.

² See Vicenzio, Dolomieu, Hamilton, &c.

barbarians. It was, it would seem, the Pelasgians who brought into Italy, as into Attica, the stone of the domestic hearth, (*hestia, vesta*,) and the stone of limits, (*zeus herkeios*,) the foundation of property. Upon this double base, arose, as we hope to prove, the edifice of the civil law, the great and distinctive originality of Italy.

Whatever opinion may be adopted as to the migrations of the Pelasgians, it appears evident that many centuries before our era, they governed all the countries situated upon the Mediterranean from Etruria to the Bosphorus. In Arcadia, Argolis, and Attica, in Etruria and Latium, perhaps in Spain, they have left indestructible monuments; walls formed of enormous blocks, which seem heaped up by the hands of giants. These works are called, from the name of a Pelasgic tribe, *cyclopéan*. Rough and unformed in the enclosure of Tyrinthum, in the constructions of Arcadia, of Argolis, and the country of the Hernici, these monstrous blocks are squared in the apparently more modern walls of the Etruscan cities. Those eternal ramparts have indifferently received all generations within their circuit; no revolution has shaken them. Firm as mountains, they seem to bear with derision the superstructures of the Goths and Romans, which crumble away at their feet.

Before the Hellenes, the Pelasgi occupied all Greece as far as the Strymon,¹ comprising thus all the Arcadian, Argive, the Thessalian, Macedonian, Epirote tribes. The principal sanctuary of these Pelasgi was in the forest of Dodona, where the prophetic dove rendered her oracles from the summit of a sacred column. Other Pelasgi occupied the isles of Lemnos, Imbros, and Samothrace, the centre of their religion in the East. Thence they extended along the coast of Asia, in the countries afterwards called Caria, Æolia, Ionia, and as far as the Hellespont. Upon this coast, facing Samothrace, arose Troy, the great Pelasgic town, whose founder, Dardanus, arriving, according to various traditions, from Arcadia, from Samothrace, or from the Italian town of Cortona, formed

¹ See Herod. i. 57; ii. 51; vi. 137; viii. 44. Æschylus, Suppl. v. 248; Thucyd. ii. 99; vi. 2; Aristot. *Polit.* vii. 10. Dion. Halic. i. Strabo, v. vi.

by these fabulous migrations a symbol of the identity of all the Pelasgic tribes.

Nearly all the coasts of Italy had been colonised by Pelasgi; first by the Arcadian Pelasgi (*Ænotrians* and *Peucetians*), then by the Tyrrhenian Pelasgi (*Lydians*). Driving out the *Siculi*, the ancient inhabitants of the country,¹ to the island which has assumed their name, or readily identifying themselves with them, from the analogy of manners and language,² driving other of the ancient inhabitants into the mountains, they founded upon the coasts the towns of *Cœre* and *Tarquinius*, *Ravenna*, and *Spina*, the ancient *Venice* of the *Adriatic*. Upon the coast of *Latium*, the *Argive Ardea*, with its king *Turnus* or *Tyrrhenus*, and *Antium* built by a brother of the founders of *Ardea* and *Rome*,³ appear to have been Pelasgic settlements, as well as *Spanish Saguntum*, a colony of *Ardea*. Near *Salerno*, the great medical school of the middle ages, the temple of the *Argive Juno*, founded by *Jason*, the Pelasgic god of medicine,⁴ indicates, perhaps, that the adjacent towns, *Herculaneum*, *Pompeii*, and *Marcina* are of Tyrrhenian origin. Facing these towns, we find the Pelasgic *Teleboans* at *Capri*, and even upon the river *Tiber*. *Tibur*, *Falerii*, and other towns were founded by *Argive Siculi*, that is to say, probably by Pelasgi.

According to tradition, they had built twelve towns in *Etruria*, twelve upon the banks of the *Po*, and twelve to the south of the *Tiber*. It is thus that in *Pelagosionian Attica* we find twelve tribes, twelve townships, twelve cities, and one *Areopagus*, whose first judges were twelve gods. In *Greece*, the *Thessalian Amphictyonic council*, in *Asia*, those of the *Æolians* and *Ionians*, were each composed of twelve towns. There were the same analogies in the names as in the numbers. In *Asia*, in *Thessaly*, and in *Italy*, we find the Pelasgic town of *Larissa*. *Alexander*, the *Molossian*, unfortunately for himself, found in *Magna-Grecia* the river *Acheron* and the town *Pan-*

¹ *Sicelus*, *Italus*, the same name, like *Σελλος*, *Ἑλλην*, and *Latinus*, *Lakinius*. *Niebuhr*.

² *Pausanias* identifies the *Siculi* with the Pelasgi.

³ *Dionys. Halic. i.*

⁴ *Strabo*, v. *Creuzer*, ii. 314.

dosia, which he had left in Epirus. In Italy, as in Epirus, there was a Chaonia. In the Epirote Chaonia had reigned a son of the Thessalian Pyrrhus and the Trojan Andromache.

One is astonished to find a race, spread over so many countries, entirely disappear from history. Its various tribes either perish or are fused with foreign nations, or at least lose their names. There is no example of a destruction so complete. An inexpiable malediction is attached to this people; all that their enemies relate of them is ominous and bloody. It is the women of Lemnos who, in one night, strangle their husbands; it is the inhabitants of Agylla who stone the Phocian prisoners. Perhaps we may explain this disappearance of the Pelasgii, and the hostile tone of the Greek historians in reference to them, by the scorn and hatred which heroic tribes entertained for the agricultural and industrial populations who had preceded them.

This was, in fact, the character of the Pelasgi. They adored the subterrene gods who guarded the treasures of the earth; agriculturists and miners, they sought in the earth gold or corn. These new arts were odious to barbarians; in their eyes, all industry, which they do not understand is magic. The initiations which admitted men to the various corporations of artisans, aided by their mystery the most odious accusations. The magic worship of flames, that mysterious agent of industry, that violent action of human will upon nature, that mixture, that sullyng of the sacred elements, those traditions of serpent-gods and men-dragons of the East who worked their deeds by fire and magic, all this terrified the imagination of the heroic tribes. They had but their sword wherewith to oppose the unknown powers of which their enemies disposed, and therefore they everywhere made use of the sword. It was said that the Telchines of Sicyon, of Beotia, Crete, Rhodes, and Lycia, could at will pour the mortal waters of Styx over plants and animals.¹ Like the witches of the middle ages, (*θελγω*, to charm, fascinate,) they predicted and raised tempests.² They pretended to cure maladies; could they

¹ Strabo, xiv.

² Athen. Deipnos, vii.

not also inflict them on those whom they hated? The Cabiri of Lemnos, of Samothrace, and Macedonia, (the same name designated the gods and their worshippers,) were smiths and miners, like the Cyclops of Peloponesus, of Thrace, of Asia Minor, and of Sicily, who penetrate, the lamps fixed on their foreheads, into the depths of the earth.

Some derive the name of Cabiri from *Kaiein*, to burn; others from the *Cabirim*, the strong men of Persia, who acknowledged a smith for their liberator; or from the Hebrew *Chaberim*, associates (the *consentes* or *complices* of Etruria). What is certain, is, that they adored the formidable powers who reside in the entrails of the earth. *Kibir*, *bir*, still signifies the devil in the Maltese dialect, that curious wreck of the Punic language.¹ The Cabirite gods were adored under the form of wide vases; one of them was placed on each domestic hearth. The potter's art, thus sanctified by the Pelasgi, seemed to have been cursed in its principle by the Hellenes, in common with all industry. Dædalus, (that is to say, the skilful,) the potter, the smith, the architect, is everywhere represented fleeing, like Cain, the ancestor of Tubalcain, the Hebrew Dædalus; the murderer of his nephew, he withdraws to the island of Crete, and fabricates the cow of Pasiphæ.² He flees from the anger of Minos to Sicily and Italy, where he is welcomed and protected; a symbol of the colonization of these countries by the industrious Pelasgi, and of their adventurous expeditions. Prometheus, the inventor of arts, is nailed to mount Caucasus by the usurper Jupiter, who has conquered the Pelasgic gods; but the Titan predicts to him that his reign will end.³ Thus, in the middle ages, the oppressed Britons threatened their conquerors with the return of Arthur, and the fall of their domination.

The industrious Pelasgi were treated by the warlike races of antiquity, as the city of Tyre was by the Assyrians of Psalmanazar and Nabuchodonosar, who twice furiously essayed to destroy it; as, in the middle ages,

¹ Creuzer, ii.

² See Hoeckh.

³ Æschylus, *Prometheus*, v. *passim*.

were the industrious or commercial populations, the Jews, Moors, Provençals, and Lombards.

The gods seemed to league with men against the Pelasgi. Those of Italy were doubtless struck, after the volcanic convulsions, by unprecedented scourges, a drought which burnt up the pastures, which dried up even the rivers; destructive epidemics which caused mothers to miscarry, or to produce monsters. They accused themselves of having vowed to the Cabiri the tithe of all they produced, and yet of not having sacrificed the tenth of their children. The oracle claiming this fearful sacrifice, the moral instinct revolted against the religion. The people rose everywhere, says Dionysius of Halicarnassus, in defiance of their chiefs.¹ A crowd of men quitted Italy and spread over Greece and among the barbarians. These fugitives, everywhere pursued, became slaves in various countries. In Attica, the Ionians made them construct the Cyclopean wall of the citadel.² The Pelasgi who remained in Italy were subjected, those of the north (Tyrrheni) by the barbarian people of the Rasena; those of the south (Ænotrians and Peucetians) by the Hellenes,³ and especially by the Achean town of Sybaris.⁴ The analogy of language caused them to adopt the Greek without difficulty; and even when Lucania and Brutium fell under the yoke of the Sabellini or Samnites, they spoke indifferently the Oscic and the Greek. Yet this unfortunate population of *Brutii* (i.e., revolted slaves),⁵ descended in a great measure from the Pelasgi, remained almost always in a state of dependence. Slaves of the Greeks, then of the Lucanian Samnites, they were condemned by Rome, in punishment of their alliance with Hannibal, to fulfil for ever servile offices in the consuls' establishments, to be carriers of water and hewers of wood.⁶ Yet Rome might have remembered that her own origin was also Pelasgic. Did she not herself pretend

¹ Dionys. i.

² Herod. vi. Pausan. *Attic*.

³ The slaves of the Haliots were called Pelasgi; Steph. Bruz. *in verbo*.

⁴ Strabo, vi.

⁵ Id. *ib.* Diod. xvi. Festus, *verbo brutates*.

⁶ Appian, *Bello. Hannib. sub. jin.*

that, after the fall of Troy, Æneas brought into Latium the *penates*, bound in fillets, and the eternal fire of Vesta?¹ Did she not honour the sacred island of Samothrace as her mother;² so that the victory of Rome over the Hellenic world seemed the tardy vengeance of the Pelasgi? The Æneid celebrates this victory. The poet of Tyrrhenian Mantua³ deplores the downfall of Troy, and sings its restoration in the foundation of Rome, as Homer had celebrated in the Iliad the victory of the Hellenes and the fall of the great Pelasgic city.

CHAPTER IV.

OSCANS — LATINS, SABINES.

“CIRCE,” says Hesiod,⁴ “*had by Ulysses two sons, Latinos and Ayrrios (the barbarian), who, from the depths of the sacred isles, governed the celebrated race of the Tyrrhenians.*” I would interpret this passage in the following manner: From the Pelasgic navigators and magicians (*i.e.*, industrials) sprang the two great Italian societies, the *Osci* (of whom the Latins are a tribe), and the *Tusci* or Etruscans. Circe, daughter of the sun, has all the characteristics of a Pelasgic *Telchine*. The poet represents her to us near a great fire, seldom useful in a warm country, unless for an industrial purpose; she is spinning or preparing potent drinks.⁵ The prudent Ulysses, an indefatigable navigator, is not the original hero of the warlike tribes who replaced the Pelasgi in Greece; it is a type which they must have borrowed from their predecessors the Pelasgi. Who, before the Pelasgi (Siculi, Ænotrians, Peuce-tians, Tyrrhenians) were the inhabitants of Italy? Amid the many conjectures, we will offer also our own, which have, at least, the advantage of simplicity and coherence. The first Italians must have been the *Opici*, men of the earth,

¹ Creuzer, ii. 312.

² Pliny, ii. Serv. ad Æn. iii. 12.

³ Mantua was an Etruscan colony.

⁴ Theog. v. 1111—1115.

⁵ Virg. Æn. VII.

(*ops*)¹ autochthones, aborigines. *Opici*, *opsci*, contracted, becomes *Osci*,² and with various aspirations, *casci* (*ancients*),³ which comes to the meaning of autochthones, *Volsci* and *Falisci*,⁴ finally, by extension of *Osci*, *Ausonii*, *Aurunci*. If this name *opici* does not designate a race, it at least certainly comprehends peoples of the same language, the ancient inhabitants of the plains of Latium and Campania, more or less mixed with the Pelasgi and the inhabitants of the mountains, distinguished by the name of *Sabini*, *Sabelli*, *Samnites*, *σαβίται*, men of the javelin?⁵ These populations, in fact, adored the god of death and war under the form of a javelin. Thus the people of the Oscic tongue were divided into two tribes, which I shall compare to the Dorians and Ionians of Greece, the Sabelli, shepherds of the mountains, and the Opici or Osci, labourers of the plain.⁶ The establishment of the Hellenic colonies, and the invasion of the Sabelli, who gradually descended from the Apennines, more and more limited the country of the Ausonians, Osci, or Opici; and from the time of Alexander,⁷ the name of Opica appears confined to Campania and Latium. In the time of Cato, Oscan was synonymous with barbarian. Still the Oscic language predominated over the entire south up to the gates of the Greek colonies. Although

¹ See Buttmann *Lexilogus fur Homer und Hesiod*, verbo 'Απυγαια.

² Festus.

³ Ennius, Sanfeius in Serv. *Æn.* i. 10. "Casci vocati sunt, quos posterī aborigines nominaverunt; v. Columna ad fragm. Ennii, p. 14, ed. Hess. As to the identity of the Volsci, Equi, and Falisci, see Varro, *de lin. Lat.* vi. 3.

⁴ Coriadini (ii. 9) establishes that Pometia, or Sussea Pometia, the capital of the Volsci, was also called Cammena, that is to say, ancient, according to Ennius, Ausona, Auruncia, an additional proof of the identity of the Osci or Ausonians, with the Volsci. See also Dionys. Fr. iv. Serv. *Æn.* vii. 627; Festus, *verb.* Ausonia.

⁵ Cato in Dionys. ii. Strabo, v. designates the Sabelli *autochthones* (aborigines, first inhabitants of a country, men of the land, *opici*). The Osci, Volsci, Sabini, Samniti, Brutti (who were chiefly Samnite Mamertians) all fought with the same weapons.

"Et tereti pugnant mucrone *veruque Sabello*" (*Æn.* vii. 665).

"*Volcosque verutos*" (Georg. ii. 168). See also the Bruttian coins.

⁶ Aristotle, *Polit.* vii. 10.

⁷ Plin. xxix. i.

a Latin¹ author appears to distinguish the Roman dialect from the Oscic, this language was clearly understood at Rome, since the farces called *Atellanes* were delivered in it.

The language of a people is the most important monument of its history. It is more especially by this it is classed in such or such a division of the human species. The Oscic, Sabine, and Latin languages were united by the strictest analogy. The few words which have been preserved of the two first are easily referable to the Sanscrit,² the source of the Latin language. Thus the ancient populations of the centre of Italy are connected by language, and, doubtless, by blood, to that great family of nations which has spread from India to England, and which is designated by the name of Indo-Germanic. We are not led to adopt this opinion by feeble analogies. The resemblance of a considerable number of words, the more striking analogy still of grammatical forms attest that the ancient idiom of Latium is allied to the Sanscrit as to its source, to the Greek, as to its nearest branch, to the German and Slavonic by a more distant relationship. The resemblances we shall indicate will suffice to manifest this connexion of languages and nations, but we cannot in this work make a complete demonstration of it. Yet the few examples given are an important testimony, because they are all taken from words in common use, from those which have most reference to the intimate life of a nation. Chance may lead people to adopt some scientific terms, some new expressions of ideas before unknown, but never the words which concern the more vital parts of human existence, its dearest ties, its most immediate wants.

We can only conjecture what were the religions of Italy before the arrival of the Pelasgi; perhaps the objects

¹ "Oscè et Volscè fabulantur, nam latine nesciunt." Titinius in Festo. *Osce et Volsce* appears to me simply one of those redundancies so common in the Latin tongue, such as *felix faustumque*, *purum piumque*, and so on. In reference to the analogy of the Sabine with the Roman language, see Ouf. Muller, *Die Etrusker einleitung*, and Varro, de L. Lat. c. 12 . . . e Grecis (nominibus deorum) nonnulla in utraque lingua habent radices, ut arbores quæ in confinio natæ, in utroque agro serpunt.

² Appendix I.

of her worship were the rude fetiches that she continued to adore—such as bread, lances, rivers, (the Vulturno, the Numicius, the Tiber, etc.,) the lakes of Albunea, of Cutilio, hot springs (of Abano), black and boiling waves (of the lake Asanto).¹ The Pelasgi themselves placed the centre of their religion in Italy, on the border of a lake upon which was a floating island.²

The chief god of the Sabelli was Mamers, Mavors, Mars or Mors, who was adored as we have said, under the form of a lance. He is, perhaps, the form excepted, the Pelasgic Axiokersos.³ The shepherds also honoured a kind of Italian Hercules, Sabus, Sancus, Sanctus, Semo, Songus, Fidius, the 'author of their race, a deified man, such as we find at the head of every heroic religion. In this land of storms and mephitic exhalations, they also adored Soranus, Februus, the god of death, and Summanus, the god of the nocturnal thunder, which roars with such terrible fury through the defiles of the Apennines.

The principal object of the worship of the agriculturists was Saturnus-Ops, god-goddess of the earth; Djanus-Djana, divinity of heaven, perhaps the same with Lunus-Luna, and with Vortumnus, the god of change. Dianus, limited within the circle of the solar revolution, became Annus-Anna, and the latter, considered in relation to the fecundity of the earth and the abundance of provisions, took the name of Annona. This religion of *natura-naturans*, and of *natura-naturata*, to borrow the barbarous but expressive language of Spinoza, had its festivals at the end of winter, *Saturnalia*, *Matronalia*. In December, when the sun rose triumphant over the frost, the statue of old Saturn, usually chained (like that of the Melkarth of Tyre), was freed from its bonds. The slaves, released for several days, became the equals of their masters, and shared in the common deliverance of nature. On the first of March, the Sabines, and on the 29th of May, the Arvales,⁴ celebrated, by songs and dances, the god of life and death, *Mors*, *Mars*,

¹ Micali, ii. 40.

² Dionys. i.

³ Creuzer, ii. 508.

⁴ Marini, *Gli atti e monumenti di Fratelli Arvali*, and Gell, x. 15. Plin. xviii. (See Appendix II.)

Mavors, Mamers. The fire of Vesta was extinguished and rekindled; the women made presents to their husbands, and addressed their prayers to the genius of feminine fecundity (*Juno Lucina*). The generative power was invoked for earth and for man. As in Etruria, each man had his guardian genius, his Jupiter, each woman her Juno. The Vesta of the Pelasgi was reproduced under the Italian form of Larunda, mother of the Lares, and their Zeus Herkeios still protected the fields, under the shapeless figure of the god Terminus. Each labour of agriculture had its god, which presided over it. We know the names of those which the Flamen of the Dea-Dia, the Italian Ceres, invoked at Rome: *Vervactor, Reparator, Abarator, Imporcitor, Insitor, Occator, Sarritor, Subruncator, Messor, Convector, Promitor*.¹ But no divinity was adored under more names than Fortune, Chance: *Fortuna, Fors bonuseventus*, that god, whoever he be, that causes success. These are some of the names under which Fortune was invoked: *Mulicbris, equestris, brevis, mascula, obsequens, respiciens, sedens, barbara, mammosa, dubia, viscata, vicina, libera, adjutrix, virilis*, and lastly, the real name of Fortune, *Fortuna hujusdiei* "Vosne velit an me regnare hera, quide ferat fors Virtute experiamur." This was the motto of Rome.

Thus a double worship prevailed with these nations, as with the Etruscans, that of Fortune and *Change*, and that of *Nature*, personified in the gods of sedentary and agricultural life; above the god of life and death, that is to say, of *change in nature*.

The foreign origin of this religion is everywhere visible, although it is impressed in its form with the sombre nationality of ancient Italy. The gods are unknown gods, full of a terrible mystery.³ The Romans added to their prayers: "Quisquis deus es; sive deus es, sive dea; seu alio nomine appellari volueris."⁴ Greece had created her

¹ See Brisson, *de Formulæ*.

² Ennius.

³ See Blum's Essay on the Origins of Roman History (Einleitung, &c.)

⁴ Whatever divinity you be, whether a god or a goddess, or by what other name you are pleased to be called.

gods, had formed them after her own image; she seemed to play with them, and each day added some pages to her divine history. The Italian gods are immovable, inactive; whilst the Greek gods formed among themselves a species of Athenian tribe, those of Italy scarcely ever united in a family. In their isolation we perceive the subsisting difference between the races which imported them. They all go, it is true, two and two; hermaphrodites in the elder times, each had become a couple, husband and wife. But these unions are not fruitful, they are exotic trees, which become sterile under a foreign sky.¹ The Greek Dionysius congratulates them on not having among them, as among the Greek gods, either combats or amours; at never being, like the latter, wounded or captive, at not compromising the divine nature by mixing with men. Dionysius forgot that active and moving divinities, though less imposing indeed, help to perfectionate humanity. The Italian gods, on the contrary, in their silent immobility, awaited, until the second Punic war, the Greek myths, which were to give them life and motion.

The religion of the Greeks, inspired by the sentiment of the beautiful, could give birth to art; but the Italian gods, not participating in the life or passions of man, have nothing to do with the human form. The Romans, says Plutarch,² raised no statue to the gods until the year of Rome 170. All the heroic nations, Persians, Romans, Germans, (at least the majority of the latter,) were for a long time iconoclasts.

It is not sufficient to characterise these tribes by their religion; we must follow them in their agricultural labours, and collect what remains of the ancient maxims of Italic wisdom. The Romans have preserved many of these; and although presented to us by writers relatively

¹ See Varro, in August. Civ. Dei. vii. 11. Gellius, xiii. 22.

"The addresses which are offered to the immortal gods according to the custom of the Romans, are found in the books of their priests, and in many of their ancient compositions. We there meet the phrase *Laciam Saturni, Salaciam Neptuni, Horam Quirini, Juritem Quirini, Maiam Volcani, Nerien Junonis, Molas Martis, and Nerienen Martis*" Hersilia would thus have implored for peace between the Romans and the Sabines: *Neria Martis, te obsecro pacem dare.*

² *Life of Numa.*

modern, I believe them to be of high antiquity, since they must date at least from the time when the land was still cultivated by free hands. Certainly they do not belong to the slaves who, at a later period, came from distant lands to cultivate the soil of Italy, and die there in silence.

This agricultural science, on which the Romans prided themselves, was common to Latium, Campania, Umbria, and Etruria; the Etruscans, indeed, seem to have been superior in this respect to all the other Italian people. We know the ingenuity they displayed in directing the course of the waters, the care with which they supported by walls the cultivated earth, ever in danger otherwise of slipping down the abrupt declivities. They gave, says Pliny, nine successive labours in their fields. The most illustrious agriculturists of whom Rome boasts, Cato and Marius, were not Romans, but men of Tusculum and Arpinum.

These old maxims, simple and grave, like all those which sum up the practical sense of nations, have no poetical character; they affect rather the legislative form. Pliny calls them *oracula*, the name often given to the answers of the jurisconsults:—

“He is a bad agriculturist who buys that with which his land could have supplied him. He is a bad economist who does by day what he may do at night. Worse still, who does on a working day what he ought to do on holy-days. The worst of all, who in fine weather works under his roof rather than in the fields.”¹

Sometimes the precept is inculcated under the form of a story. “A poor labourer gives to his eldest daughter for a marriage portion the third part of his vineyard, and does so well with the remainder, that he finds himself as rich as he was before. He gives another third to his second daughter, and still has as much.” Sometimes the form is paradoxical and antithetical: “What are the ways of cultivating the field to the greatest profit? The good and the bad, as the old oracle says;” that is to say, you must cultivate the land as well as you can, and at the least possible expense, according to the circumstances and abilities of the cultivator. “What is good cultiva-

¹ Pliny, xviii. 6.

tion? To plough the land. Well, and what next? Plough it again. And what then? Manure the land.—What yields the most certain and rapid profit? Skilful pasturing. Next? Indifferent pasturing. Last of all? Even bad pasturing.”¹

Pliny and Columella give a prayer of the old Italian labourers, which would imply in these tribes great gentleness of manners. In sowing the grain they prayed the gods to *send it up plentifully for themselves and for their neighbours*; but all that we know of the hardness of these remote ages² ill agrees with this philanthropy. An old maxim says, in an opposite spirit: “Three evils are equally hurtful; sterility, contagion, and neighbours.” We shall more fully develop, in speaking of the work of Cato on agriculture, all the harshness of the old Latin genius. They were a patient and tenacious people, steady and regular, avaricious and grasping. When such a nation becomes warlike, these habits of avarice and avidity are soon converted into a spirit of conquest. Such, in the middle ages, was the character of the Normans, of that agricultural, litigious, and conquering people, who, as they themselves confess in their chronicle, always desired *gaaigner*, and who, in fact, did gain England and the two Sicilies. Nothing more strikingly resembles the Roman genius.

That of the Sabellian shepherds, still more rude and barbarous, their wandering life during the greater part of the year, led them, more immediately than the agricultural tribes, to brigandage and conquest. Obligated to conduct their flocks, and to follow the pastures, every season, from the forest to the plain, and from the valley to the mountain, they left the old men and children, incapable of these long journeys, upon the inaccessible summits of the Apen-

¹ 1 Col. vi. præf. Pliny, xviii. 5. and see Varro, Columella, xi. 3: &c., Pliny, xvii. 13, Palladio, l. 5.

² We find it even in the magnificent idealization of agriculture presented by the Georgics of Virgil (Book I.) “Whence men, a hardy race, sprung up . . . in hardships urgent, surmounting every obstacle. But unless you both vex the ground with assiduous harrows, fright away the birds with noise, and with the pruning knife restrain the shades of the darkened field, and by prayers call down the showers. . . . Also, while thy labour proves in vain, thou shalt view another’s simple store, and in the woods solace thy hunger by shaking down acorns from the oak.”

nines. Their villages, like those of the Epirotes, were all situated upon the heights. Cato places the cradle of their race towards Amiternum, on the highest point of the Abruzzi, where the snow never disappears from the Majella. But from thence they spread over all the central chains of the south of Italy. The scarcity of herbage under a burning sky, the immense space required by this wandering life, constantly obliged the shepherds to separate, whether they would or not, and to form a great number of petty societies. Thus in Genesis, Abraham and Lot agree to depart one from the other; and to go one to the east and the other to the west.

In bad years, the Sabellians vowed to Mamers, the god of life and death, the tenth of all that should be born in the course of one spring; this is what they called *ver sacrum*.¹ It is probable, that, in the beginning, no exception to this cruel vow was made in favour of children. As the Sabellians became a numerous people, they contented themselves with abandoning their children. Rejected by their fathers, and become children of Mamers, *Mamer-tini*² or *Sacrani*,³ as soon as they attained the age of twenty

¹ "The use of the sacred Spring is found among the Romans. The following is the form observed in the second Punic war. 'Do ye will and order, that this thing should be performed in this manner; if the republic of the Roman people, the quirites, shall be saved and preserved, as I wish it may, in these wars for the next five years, the Roman people, the quirites, shall give and present (which war is between the Roman people and the Carthaginians, and which war is with the Cisalpine Gauls,) whatsoever the spring shall produce from heads of swine, sheep, goats, oxen, and which shall not have been consecrated, to be sacrificed to Jnpiter. Reckoning from the day which the senate and people shall appoint, let him who shall make an offering do it when he please, and in which manner he please; in whatsoever manner he does it, let it be considered duly done. If that which ought to be sacrificed die, let it be unconsecrated and let no guilt attach. If any one unwittingly wound or kill it, let it be no injury to him. If any one shall steal it, let no guilt attach to the people, or to him from whom it was stolen. If any one shall unwittingly offer it on a forbidden day, let it be esteemed duly offered; also, whether by night or day, whether slave or freeman perform it. If the senate and people shall order it to be offered sooner than any person shall offer it, let the people be acquitted of it.'—Livy, xxii. 10.

² Probably identical with the name of two Sabellian tribes, the Marsi and the Marrucini.

³ Festus V. *ver, sacrum, sacrani*. Serv. *Æn.* vii. 796; Dionys. i. 1; Strabo, v.

they departed for some foreign land. Some of these colonies, conducted by the three sacred animals of Italy—the woodpecker (*picus*),¹ the wolf, and the ox—descended, one colony to Picenum; another to the country of the Hirpini, (*Hirpus*, wolf, in the Oscic language;²) a third to the country which as yet only bore the generic name of the Opici, and which became Samnium. This last colony was in its turn the metropolis of great settlements in Lucania and Campania, where the Samnites subjected the Opici.³ From Lucania, they infested in their expeditions the lands of the Greek colonies, which, about three centuries and a half after the foundation of Rome, formed a first league against these barbarians, and against Dionysius the elder, tyrant of Syracuse, two powers which equally threatened them, and between which they were speedily crushed.

This vast dominion, in which were inclosed all the strong positions of the south of Italy, seemed to destine the Samnites to combine the peninsula under one yoke. But the love of unlimited independence, which all the Samnite tribes had retained from their pastoral life, always prevented them from forming into a body. Nothing was more various than the genius of these tribes. The Sabines, neighbours of Rome, were considered as equitable and moderate as the Samnites were ambitious. The Picentines were sluggish and timid, the Marsi warlike and intractable. *Who*, asked the Romans, *could conquer the Marsi or without the Marsi*?⁴ The Lucanians were inveterate thieves, who delighted only in theft and ravage; the Campanian Samnites had become brilliant cavalry, prompt to attack and prompt to fly. Each tribe assumed the character and the culture of the invaded countries. The Samnite coins bore Etruscan devices; those of the Luca-

¹ Pliny, x. 18.

² Strabo, v.—The Romans had a saying: "Where there's a woodpecker there's also a wolf." Plut. *Quæst. Rom.* 21. Romulus, in gratitude, had divine honours rendered to the woodpecker, which had supported him, with the wolf. Seneca, *ap.* August. vi. 10. They sacrificed a dog to the wolf. The door of new-married people was rubbed with the grease of a wolf. Plut. *Quæst. Rom.* 19, 87.

³ Capua was taken about four centuries before the Christian era. Diod. xii. 31. Livy, iv. 37.

⁴ Appian, *Bell. Civ.* i.

nians, Greek letters; the other tribes followed the Oscic and Latin alphabet. All the tribes made war upon each other. The Marsi, Marrucini, Peligni, and Vestini, differing in government but united in a federal league, were at war with the Samnites, who, on the other side, were assailed by the Lucanians. The Samnite tribes were not strongly united among themselves, except in the time of the wars with Rome, during which they elected a general in chief, an *embratur*¹ or *imperator*. The dominion of the Lucanians received a terrible blow, when, towards the year 400 after the foundation of Rome, some mercenary troops whom they employed revolted against them, and, uniting with the ancient inhabitants of the country, established themselves in the strongholds of Calabria, under the title of Brutii, that is to say, revolted slaves. These at first no doubt accepted this name as a defiance,² and afterwards they explained it more honourably, by referring their origin to Brutus, the son of Hercules and Palentia—that is to say, of heroism and force.

CHAPTER V.

TUSCI, OR ETRUSCANS.

THE diversity of the Oscic tribes, their restless character, ever prevented them from forming a great society. The attempt at a powerful and enduring federation took place only in Etruria.

What was this Etruscan people that so strongly marked with its impress Roman society, sketched, so to speak, by the Oscic and Sabine populations? They called themselves Autochthones; in fact, says Dionysius, “they claimed alliance with no people in the world.” And yet there is none to which criticism has not essayed to connect

¹ *Sic* on the Samnite coins of the social war. Niebuhr, i. 5.

² In the same way as the *gueux* of Holland, the *sans-culottes* of France, &c.

them. It has successively demanded of Etruria whether she was Greek, Phenician, German, Celtic, Iberian? The silent genius has made no reply.

Let us in our turn examine the monuments of Etruscan art.¹ Let us contemplate those massive blocks of the walls of Volterra; let us disinter those elegant vases of Tarquinii, or Clusium, let us penetrate these hypogea, more mysterious than the Necropoles of Egypt.

The personages represented on their vases, bas-reliefs, are generally little men, with large arms and large heads;² sometimes with a long, thick nose, which reminds one of the statues found in the Mexican ruins of Palanque. The subjects are religious ceremonies and sumptuous banquets, where the women are seated with the men. The costumes are splendid; we know that the Romans borrowed from the Etruscans the laticlavium, or senatorial robe, the pretexta, the sacerdotal apex, as well as their curule chairs, their lictors, and the paraphernalia of their triumphs. You will find upon these monuments traces of all the religions of antiquity. This eagle-horse carries me to Persia; these personages, who cover their mouths as they address a superior, seem detached from the bas-reliefs at Persepolis. At their side, I see the man-wolf of Egypt, the Scandinavian dwarfs, and perhaps the mallet of Thor. But these dwarfs are, perhaps, the Phenician Cabiri;...then come hideous symbols, larvæ, and grinning faces, like the phantoms of nightmare, which seem there to defy criticism, and forbid it access to the sanctuary.

In these eternal banquets, this embonpoint, and in the ruggedness of the language, we ought, according to an illustrious German, to recognise his countrymen.

¹ See Ottfried Muller, *ut sup.* See also the magnificent collections of Inghirami, Micali, Panofkas, &c. See also Mrs. Hamilton Gray's admirable work on the Etruscan sepulchres.

² *Pinguis Tyrrhenus*, Æn. xi. *Aut porcus Umber, aut obesus Hæruscus*. Catull.

³ *Tusci Teutschen*. Turm, (an Etruscan god,) Tyr. According to Livy, the Etruscans derived from the same source with the Rhetians: Tyrol, Tyr, Tyrrhenians; Niebuhr suggests that the dialect of Grœden in the Tyrol, an unique dialect, and original in its roots, may very probably be regarded as a relic of the Etruscan language. Humboldt

The Tuscan probity, and the admission of women to the feasts, would seem further to connect the Etruscans with the Germanic populations. The Etruscans called themselves *Rasena*. Are not these *Rasena* the Retians or Rhetians of the Tyrol? Admit that a German or Iberian tribe did invade and subject the country, it is none the less probable that the previous population was, for the most part, not Greek, but allied to the Greeks. Tarquinii, the cradle of the Etruscan society, according to their national traditions, and Cœre or Agylla, its neighbour, the religious metropolis of Rome, both had a national treasure in the temple of Delphi, the same as Athens or Lacedemon, and occasionally consulted its oracle. The Tuscan order is the principle or simplification of the Doric order. The two thousand statues of Vulsinii, which induced the Romans to make the conquest of that town, would appear to indicate the fertility there of the Greek art. Those innumerable vases of Tarquinii, of Clusium, of Arretium, of Nola, of Capua, which are every day dug out of the earth, are identical with those of Corinth and Agrigentum, in material, in form, and frequently in subject. The dryness and stiffness which Winckelmann considered to have been the original characteristics of Etruscan art, were no doubt caused by the early interruption of communication with Greece, which must have ceased when the barbarian Samnites made the conquest of Capua. The greater number of these vases, evidently belonging to a no very remote antiquity, do not prove the Hellenic origin of the Etruscans. This silent people, who were not acquainted with vocal music,¹ whose inscriptions bear no trace of rhythm, who were horrified at the nakedness of the gymnasia, cannot be directly referred to Greece herself. It is higher up, according to the traditions of the Etruscans themselves, that we must

(in his researches respecting the Basque language) is disposed to regard Etruria as Latino-Iberian. Ottfried Muller believes it to have been neither Iberian nor Celtic, but part northern, part Lydian—i. e., Pelasgic.

¹ Instrumental music, however, was enjoined by positive laws, as well as by custom, if it be true that the Etruscans made their bread and beat their slaves to the sound of the flute. Arist. *ap.* Polluc. iv. 56. Plutarch, *on restraining anger*. Athenæus, xii. 3.

seek their origin. Long before the Hellenic colony of the Corinthian Demarates had brought them Eucheir and Eugrammos, (*the potter and the designer*,) the Tyrrhenian Pelasgi of Asia Minor had brought to the Etruscans their arts and their gods. The trumpet and the Lydian flute were the national instruments of Etruria. The Pelasgic terminations *ηρος, ηρη, ηρας* (*αθηνη, μυχηνη*), are found in Porsena, Capena, Cecina, &c. The Etruscan writing, like that of the Umbrians and the Osci, which are analogous to it, appears daughter of the Phenician and sister of the Grecian; the Phenician alphabet no doubt passed into Italy through the medium of the Pelasgi. Both Pelasgi and Etruscans were great builders of walls and towers, (Tyrrheni, Turseni, Turris, Tursis?) The symbolical genius of the Pelasgi appears both in the form of the Etruscan cities, and in the affectation of mystic numbers.¹ The twelve cities of Etruria had twelve colonies upon the Po, and twelve in Latium and Campania. They were united by commercial relations with Miletus and Sybaris, with the Ionians and the Achæans;² enemies, on the contrary, of the Doric cities. In the markets of Sybaris, silver served as a medium and means of exchange between the copper of the Etruscans, and the gold of Miletus and Carthage. The "Etruscan pirates," as the Greeks always called them, were at perpetual war with the Dorians of Syracuse. The fear they inspired, early arrested the foundation of Hellenic colonies upon the western coast of Italy. The straits of Messina separated the maritime empire of the Tuscans from that of the Greeks. Soon after Xerxes and the Carthaginians had in concert invaded Greece and Sicily, the Etruscans threatened Magna Græcia, and nearly gained possession of Cumæ. The Syracusan, Hiero, defeated them, as Gelo, his brother, had defeated the Carthaginians, and as

¹ Most of the Etruscan towns were constructed in the form of an oblong (*Gens illa triplex, populi sub gente quaterni*, Virgil). Niebuhr considers that the twelve cities were: Cære, Tarquinii, Rusellæ, Vetulonium, Volaterræ, Arretium, Cortona, Perusia, Clusium, Volsinii, Veïæ, Capena, or Cossa. There is much mention also of Pisa, Fesulæ, Falerii, Aurinia, or Caletta, and Salpinum, to which we must add Saturnia. The mythic number of twelve might have been varied in reality.

² "The Ionian race is Pelasgic." Herodotus.

Themistocles had defeated the Persians. Pindar celebrates the third victory of Greece over the barbarians equally with the two others.

Thus the Etruscans lost the empire of the sea; their power, which had extended itself from the Tyrolean Alps to Magna Græcia, began to retire within the limits of Etruria. The barbarians, Ligurians, Gauls, and Samnites, restricted it more and more every day; whilst within they were assailed by a still more perilous evil. The *lucumons*, proprietors, priests, warriors, masters of the strong cities situated upon the heights, held the labourers of the plains in subjection by their clients. One particular *lucumon*, king, in each town, represented the *lucumons* of that town at the religious and political assemblies of the confederation, which were held at Vulsinii. Rivalry between the towns and the *lucumons*, jealousy of the inferior orders, labourers and artizans, hatreds of parties and of races—such were the hidden wounds of Etruria. Yet she still existed, strong and patient, under the multiplied blows dealt her by her warlike neighbours; not accusing herself as the cause of her evils, but attributing them to the unjust displeasure of the gods. The subject of Capanea defying the heavens, is common upon their vases. This sad and hard obstinacy, this foresight of ruin, this vivid sentiment of instability, was the character of the Etruscan genius. Nature and man seemed to agree in warning melancholy Etruria of her downfall.

The waters of the Clanis and the Arno appear to have been anciently held suspended in a vast lake,¹ which overlooked the country, until, having undermined their barrier, they marked out their respective roads towards the west and the south. Hannibal was three nights and four days passing the marshes of Upper Etruria; now it is maritime Tuscany which has become, in great measure, uninhabitable, owing to the aggression and stagnation of the waters. The valley of the lower Arno is called the Holland of Tuscany. Notwithstanding the vow which the two rivers, Arno and Auser, formerly made,² never to inundate the country, considerable districts are chilled (to use the Italian expres-

¹ Such is the local tradition. Giov. Villani. i. 43.

² Strabo.

sion) by the waters which trickle through the dykes. Were it not for the operation¹ by which the waters are directed to points upon which they are desired to deposit their slime, the land would gradually lose its productive power.

As we advance, the aspect of the country changes—the reign of fire succeeds to that of water. The heaped up ashes manifest the terrible revolutions which have convulsed the country. The extinct craters, where one is astonished now to find lakes, are the monuments and symbols of this combat of the elements.

Along the sea shore, on a breadth of about forty leagues, you find the fertile and fatal solitude of the Maremma; fruitful fields, beautiful forests, and over all, death. Less deserted in antiquity, but then also hot and humid, always insalubrious, this land has fed itself with all the populations which have dared to inhabit it. *In the Maremma, say the Italians, you get rich in a year, and die in six months.*²

“It was,” as Creuzer well describes it, “a warm country, an overwhelming climate; a thick air (to use the expression of the ancients) weighed down its inhabitants. If the soft and smiling climate of Ionia, if its buoyant air, witnessed the growth of a changeful and poetic race, who peopled it with creations not less airy, not less smiling, it was not so with ancient Tuscany. She produced men of a grave character, of meditative mind. This moral disposition was powerfully seconded by the frequent aberration of the ordinary course of nature in this country—meteors, earthquakes, sudden openings of the earth, subterraneous noises, monstrous births, as well in the human species as in animals, all the most extraordinary phenomena were frequently seen there.³ The greater part of these are explained by the nature of an atmosphere charged with burning vapours, and by the numerous volcanoes of which traces have been discovered. It is more difficult to account for the apparition of monsters, of which various authors speak—of that Volta, for example, who ravaged the town and territory of Volsinii, until the priests suc-

¹ Sismondi, *agric. de Toscane*.

² The majority of the twelve Etruscan cities were situated in the unwholesome part of Etruria.

³ Cicero, *de Divinatione*.

ceeded in destroying her by evoking the thunder. But what can be easily understood is, the influence of such a nature and such phenomena upon the character of the Etruscan people. The fathers of the church designate Etruria the *mother of superstitions*. This people cast a sad and sombre gaze upon the world which surrounded them. They saw there nothing but dark presages, fearful indications of the celestial anger, and of the scourges with which it was about to afflict the earth—hence those frequent and terrible expiations which they imposed upon themselves—hence those larvæ, those monsters, those furies, those infernal spirits so often represented upon their monuments. The books of Etruscan divination filled with fear and horror those who read them. One day the priests of Tarquinii appeared before the Roman army, looking like living furies, with flaming torches and living serpents in their hands. It was from Etruria that the Romans adopted the use of sanguinary games in funeral ceremonies. After such facts, can we wonder at finding that among the ancients, in an Etruscan town at Falerii, young girls were sacrificed in honour of Juno ?”

The Etruscans alone, in our western world, felt that empires die also. They did not announce in a confused manner the renewal of the world, as we find it indicated in the Prometheus of Æschylus and in the Scandinavian Voluspa. They divided humanity into several ages, reserving one for themselves, and themselves predicting the moment when they should give place to another nation. Etruria was to perish in the tenth century of her existence. “The emperor Augustus relates in his Memoirs (Servius ad Eclog. iv. 471) that at the apparition of the comet observed at the funeral of Cæsar, the aruspex Vulcatius said in the assembly of the people, that it announced the end of the ninth century and the commencement of the tenth; that he revealed this mystery against the will of the gods, and should die in consequence.” Already, in the time of Sylla,¹ on a clear day, a trumpet had been heard, whose sound was so sharp and mournful that the whole world was terrified. The

¹ Plutarch's Life of Sylla.

Tuscan diviners, on being consulted, announced a new age, which would change the face of the earth. Eight races of men, they said, were to succeed each other, differing in life and manners; the gods assigned to each a time limited by the period of the great year.

These predictions were verified. Rome, which at its birth had ruined Alba, her metropolis, did not spare the cradle of her religion. Etruria was included in the proscriptions of Sylla. He settled his veterans in the rich cities of Fesulæ, Cortona and Arretium. Julius Cæsar gave to the legions of Pharsalia, Capena and Volterra. Finally, in the wars of the triumvirs, in which Perusia was burned, Etruria received the last blow; devastated, distributed by Octavius:

“Eversosque focos antiquæ gentis Hetruscæ.”¹

Their beautiful colony of Mantua shared their ruin. Its fields were given to the soldiers; its Virgil followed the conquerors to the south of Italy. Hear with what mournful harmony the poet sang the era of revival, marked by the ruin of his country:—

“Aspice connexo nutantem pondere mundum,
Terrasque, tractusque maris, cælumque profundum;
Aspice, venturo lætentur ut omnia seculo.”²

To proceed: as one century comprises the life of man, as ten compose that of the Etruscan nation, so in six thousand years the whole existence of the human race is comprised. The gods employed six thousand years in creating the world; as many more are required to complete the mysterious cycle of the great year,³ and to exhaust the succession of nations and empires through which humanity must pass. Thus, men, people, races disappear in their time. The gods themselves, the great gods (*consentes*) must die one day, and upon the ruins of this world a new race will flourish, new empires, and new gods!

¹ The fire of the ancient Tuscans was extinguished.

² Virgil, *Eclog.* iv.

³ See Creuzer, ii. v., and an important note of M. Guignant. Compare in the *Symbolik*, the Etruscan doctrine of the great year with the Indian, Egyptian, and other cycles.

The gods of Etruria share with mankind this sentiment of universal mobility. The Voltumna of Volsinii in whose temple the Etruscan lucumons assembled, is a goddess of change, of fortune, of happiness, as Nurtia, Volumnius and Vertumnus (*volvendo avertendo*). The double Janus, Ianus, Eanus, *ab eundo* (Cicero) opens the gates of heaven and of the year; he turns with the sun, passes with time, and flows with rivers. His wife, Camasenè, is sometimes a fish, gliding away and escaping, sometimes Venilia, the wave which touches the shore, sometimes Juturna, the daughter of the winds and waters. The double Janus is the true god of Italy, which, on one side looks towards the East and Greece, on the other towards the gloomy west, to which she is to interpret the Hellenic genius.

The little confidence placed by Etruria in the stability of the things of this world, naturally excluded from her religion and her monuments that youthful joyousness so full of hope and heroism that we admire in those of Greece. The Etruscan monuments are gloomy;¹ they are tombs and urns. These urns, indeed, frequently exhibit pictures of marriages and dances, wherein, as in the poem of Lucretius, man enters with a voluptuous fury into the amusements of the life which is passing from him.

The Etruscans did not, however, listlessly yield to fatality; they combated it with gloomy and dogged obstinacy. Nature threatened them with inundations; they set about quelling the waters, imprisoning the rivers; their skilful labours formed the delta of the Po.² The extinct volcanoes, filled up with lakes, were pierced with outlets, which still, though unknown and out of sight, set free the superfluous water which would otherwise inundate the country. To the invasions of the barbarian races, they

¹ Sometimes they seem to express a bitter sneer at social life. We meet with the grotesque, also; on a cornelian, a butterfly, with its airy beauty, is seen driving two modest and laborious ants attached to a plough (Gori, *Museum Etruscum*). Again, on a vase, the legitimate Eurystheus is exhibited hiding himself in his brass tub, while Hercules, whom he has condemned to perform heroic exploits, presents to him the boar of Calydon. Some writers, indeed, assign these anthological antitheses to a comparatively modern date.

² Plin. iii.

opposed the colossal walls of their cities. If the gods seemed hostile, they studied to learn their will. They put the storm to profit, they ventured to study the lightning, to observe the thunder; they opened the breasts of victims, and read death.¹

“As a labourer was ploughing in a field near Tarquinii, the genius Tages suddenly rose from a furrow, and addressed him. Under the form of a child, Tages had the wisdom of age. The labourer sent forth a cry of astonish-

¹ The Etruscans did not, like the Chaldeans, consult the stars, though under the Emperors, when the Chaldean astrologers flocked to Rome, they sought to compete with them.

The divination of the Etruscans was of three kinds; they consulted the entrails of victims, the flight of birds, and the phenomena of lightning. All antiquity consulted the entrails of sacrificed animals; the Arabians, the Cilicians, and the Sabines, observed the flight of birds; the Etruscans alone consulted the phenomena of lightning. As to the first mode of divination, the curious chapter of Ottfried Muller (ii. v.) may be consulted. The names given to the birds employed in divination were: *volsguæ*, those which lacerated themselves; *remores*, *inhibæ*, *arculæ*, and *arcivæ*, the unfavourable birds, *oscines* and *præpetes*, the favourable. The eagle was a bird of good omen; the owl, which was of good omen, at Athens, was of ill omen in Etruria. The presages derived from lightning were regarded as superior to all the rest. The *fulmina publica* were of state affairs, and the presages derived thence extended over thirty years; the *fulmina privata* interested individuals, and were for every ten years; the *fulmina familiaria* were common to a whole family, and for their lives. The flashes were classed as *sicca*, *fumida clara*, *peremptoria*, *affectata*, &c. (Creuzer).

When the lightning had struck a place, the spot acquired the designation of *fulgurita*, or *obstita*; it became sacred, especially if a man had been killed by the stroke; it was surrounded with barriers, so that no profane person might desecrate it. These enclosures were called *bidentalìa*. There were also enclosures called *putealìa*. The Etruscans claimed the power of drawing down the lightning by their prayers, without the intervention of physical means. They had also the reputation of being able to discover springs of water. Plutarch relates that Paulus Æmilius, who, in common with the whole patrician body, was acquainted with the Etruscan sciences, having led his enemy into the defiles of Mount Olympus, and water failing, discovered a spring which sufficed for the whole army.

Thus did religion pave the way to science. The aruspices, in studying the internal parts of the bodies of animals, were led to the study of anatomy. An important branch of zoology must also have been familiarly known to them; that portion of ornithology which was necessary to enable them to classify birds for the purposes of divination. To determine the laws of the celestial phenomena, they had absolute need of mathematics.

ment; the people assembled; and in a little time all Etruria had collected together. Then Tages spoke long to this multitude, who listened to his discourse and wrote it down; what he said was the basis of the science of the Aruspices."¹ The labourer was Tarchon or Tarquin, the founder of Tarquinii, the metropolis of Etruria, (Tarchon, Tarquin, Tarquinii, under the Greek form *Τυρρήνιος*, &c.) Hitherto we have only seen in the Etruscan belief, the spirit of mobility. With the myth of Tages and Tarquin, begins the at once sedentary and agricultural life, and the close union of agriculture, religion, and divination. The city, the Etruscan society, sprung from the furrow. That divine character which the nations of antiquity attributed to the elements, ancient Italy more especially recognised in the soil. See, at an epoch when the spirit of the elder worship was almost extinct, with what religious enthusiasm Pliny speaks of the "good labour-earth which sparkles behind the plough, as Homer has painted it on the shield of Achilles; the bird seeks it with avidity behind the plough-share, and pecks in the footsteps of the labourer." "I prefer," says Cicero, "the perfume of the earth to that of saffron. Would you know what is this odour of the earth? When it reposes at sunset in the place where the rainbow rests its crescent, when after a drought it has refreshed itself with rain; it is then it sends forth this divine and gentle breath, which it has conceived from the rays of the sun."

All that touches the sacred element is sacred to the element itself. The labouring ox of Italy is protected by the sacred law, like the cow of India.² Corn offered to the gods consecrated a patrician marriage at Rome. Virgins of either sex were alone deemed worthy to prepare and serve the bread and wine.³

¹ Cicero, *de Divin.* The sacred books of the Etruscans were referred to Tages and Bacches, his disciple; the same with Bacchus *εφαπτωρ* or *επαφιος* (the toucher). In the ruins of Tarquinii was found a boy in bronze, touching the ground with his right hand.

² It was as capital a crime to kill an ox as to kill a citizen. Columella, vi. See also Varro, ii. 54; Plin. viii. 45. Some etymologists derive the name of Italy from the Oscic or Pelasgic word *Italos*, *itulos*, ox.

³ Colum. xii. 9.

The series of the annual labours of agriculture forms a kind of religious epopee, the denouement of which is the miraculous resurrection of the grain. This annual miracle had made a vivid impression on the imagination of the first men. Agriculture was in their eyes the struggle of man against the earth, in a field marked out by the gods. Every place, in fact, does not stamp this character upon agriculture. In the climates of the north or the south, the instantaneous or languid vegetation does not give rise to this regular course of labours, to this continual feeling of the need of divine protection.

It is from an elevated situation, as was that of all the Etruscan towns, it is from a hill that faces the sacred quarters of the world, (the east or the north,) that he who is to conquer the earth will descend into the plains. The asylum in which the gods have received him, where he himself will receive those who seek shelter with him, must be favoured by the wholesome waters which the worship of the gods demands, and which the aridity of the neighbouring country requires. The man thus attached during his life to the cultivation of the earth, into which he must at death return, where his race will take foot by the religion of the tombs, identifies himself with the common mother of humanity. Among the Romans, disciples of the Etruscans, the name of *locuples* or *opulentus*, (*locus*, *ops*,) of *frugi*, *fundus*, distinguished the proprietor from the inopes, who, under the name of clients, grouped around him, vegetated on the surface of the earth, but took no root there.¹

Among the Etruscans, the sovereign proprietor, the *lucumon*, is like Tages, an autochthon, son of the earth. Like him, he is intermediate between her and the gods; a god himself, with regard to his family, his clients, and his slaves. Sprung from the earth, he blesses it, and in his turn renders it fruitful; he interprets to it the will of heaven, expressed by the phenomena of thunder and lightning, and by the observation of animal nature. Thus, the whole world becomes a language, of which each phenomena is a word. The invariable movements of the

¹ Festus; Cicero *pro Cornelio Balbo*.

stars regulated the labours of agriculture. The irregular phenomena of the thunder, of the flight and the songs of birds, the observation of the entrails of a victim, determined the will of the gods, and determined or arrested the resolves of families or of the city. This mute language was audible everywhere, but science was necessary to enable people properly to listen to it.

Standing, and with his face turned towards the immovable north, the abode of the Etruscan gods, the augur described with the *lituus*, or hooked stick, a line (*cardo*) which, passing over his head from north to south, divided the heavens into two regions, the favourable region of the east, and the sinister region of the west; a second line (*decumanus*) derived from the figure X, divided the first line into the form of a cross, and the four regions, separated by these two lines, were then subdivided to the number of sixteen. The whole heavens, thus portioned off by the *lituus* of the augur, and subjected to his contemplation, becomes *a templum*.

Human will can transport the temple here below, and apply to earth the form of heaven. By means of lines parallel with the *cardo* and *decumanus*, the augur forms a square around him. Varro has transmitted to us the formula by which they drew out a *templum*, to take auguries, on the Capitoline. The temple equally exists, whether it be simply indicated by words,¹ or be actually an inclosure.² Its limits are equally sacred, inviolable. It has, just the same, its sole entrance in the south, its sanctuary on the north. Every sacred place is not a *templum* or *fanum*. The Etruscan temple is a square, one-sixth longer than it is broad. The tombs, and frequently the civil edifices, the public squares, affect the same form, and assume the same sacred character. Such were, at Rome, the curies of the senate, the rostra, and everything about them, and in the Campus Martius, the whole space occupied by the altar of the god. The towns are also temples. Rome was at first square (*Roma quadrata*); the same form is still distinguishable in the primitive sites of several of the most ancient cities of Etruria. The *coloniæ*

¹ See Appendix III.

² Appendix IV.

apply the form of the metropolis to their new abodes; and, as with young transplanted trees, they fix themselves on their new soil, as they were on the paternal soil;¹ even the armies, those moving colonies, every evening represented in their camps the form and position of the sacred image of the *templum*, whence they brought the auspices; the pretorium of the Roman camp, with its tribunal and its *auguraculum*, was a square of two hundred feet.²

Lands were also divided by the rules and art of the aruspices. We read in a fragment of an Etruscan cosmogony:³ *Know that the sea was separated from heaven, and that Jupiter, reserving to himself the land of Etruria, established and ordained that the fields should be measured and marked out by boundaries.* The boundaries of the fields were traced by the lines *cardo* and *decumanus*, and whenever a river or other local difficulty opposed this division, they divided the angles outside the regular measure by special limits (*limites intersecivi*), as was the case between the territory of the Veians and the Tiber. Thus each measure of the earth had its relation with the universe, and followed the direction in which the vault of heaven turns over our heads. In the same manner as the walls of the temple exclude the profane, and those of the town the enemy and the stranger, the boundaries of the field, without walls, but guarded by the gods, exclude the vagabond who, still wandering in savage life, has not entered the communion of religion and cultivation. Property communicates a sacred character to all that relates to it, to contracts, to inheritances. From divination sprang at once the city and property, private and public law.

¹ Columella, de Arboribus, xvii. The colony of Aosta may serve as an example. See further, Appendix V.

² Consequently of the same dimensions as the temple of the Capitol. See Ott. Muller, *die Etrusker*, ii. 150, and Perizonius *de Prætorio*. The measurements of lands in ancient Italy were multiples of ten or twelve. The *vorsus*, the agrarian measure of the Etruscans, was like the *plethron* of the Greeks, a square of a hundred feet. Gæsius, p. 216. The Roman *centuria* consisted of two hundred square *jugera*.

³ Gæsius, p. 258.

While the divided earth becomes a temple, and represents heaven, the man of the earth, the master of the field and of the dwelling placed there, becomes, as it were, a god. Each heavenly god has his Jupiter, his genius or penas, each goddess her Juno. The *lucumon*, the patrician, the Etruscan or Roman matron (*ingenui*) have also their penas, their Jupiter, their genius, their Juno. Man and earth are identified: the *genii* of the earth (*genius loci*), are the penates of man and of his dwelling. By the side of the penates are placed in the dwelling, the lares, humble divinities, who were once human souls, and who, not having been sullied, have obtained permission still to inhabit their dwellings and to watch over their family. The souls of the wicked, under the title of *larvæ*, terrify those who resemble them. The temple of the lares and penates is the *Atrium*,¹ their altar, the *focus*. The atrium is wanting in Greek houses, and it is this which eminently distinguishes Greek from Italian society. Whilst with the Greeks the women and children were, until they reached a certain age, confined in the gyneseum, or nursery; in Italy, on the contrary, women, children, and the slaves born in the house (*vernæ*), all assembled in the *atrium*. Italian society is founded, like the modern society, which sprung from it, upon the *atrium* and the *focus*.²

There are two poles in the Etruscan religion, as in that of the Latins and Sabines: on one side, the nobility of nature, represented by Janus, Vertumnus, Voltumna, &c.; on the other, the stability of agricultural and sedentary life, represented by Tages, by the lares and the penates. Above, but at so great a height that they can scarcely be

¹ Appendix VI.

² Etruria has been called the Egypt of the West; in fact, the doctrine of ages, and many other features of the Etruscan belief, carry us back to the Eastern world. The differences are not less important than the resemblances. Divination by thunder and lightning was peculiar to the Etruscans; they were not, properly speaking, governed by a caste. We read in Dionysius that the augur *Attius Nævius*, who had so much influence over Tarquin the elder, was a man of low birth. A passage of Varro marks a still stronger difference between Etruria and the East. He says: "The augur teaches that every man may offer up his sacrifice with his own rites."

distinguished, are the great gods, *dii consentes*¹ or *complices*, thus named, says Varro, because they are born and die together.

Having thus studied the manners and religions of the Osci and the Etruscans,² we shall find that neither the one nor the other could of itself accomplish the great work of the re-union of Italy. The Etruscans had no faith in themselves, and therein they did themselves justice. Their society, inclosed by the jealous spirit of a sacerdotal aristocracy, could not easily be opened to strangers. The Cyclopean enclosure of the Pelasgic city resisted by its mass, and refused to enlarge itself. As to the Osci, we have shown their various genius; here the Sabellians, brigands, or armed shepherds, who wander about with their flocks; here the Latins, agricultural tribes, dispersed over the lands which they cultivate. It is not either labourers, or warriors, or priests, who will found the city which is to adopt and combine Italy. If, then, we put on one side the foreign nations, the Hellenes on the south and the Celts on the north of the peninsula, we see diversity in the Osci, powerless assimilation in the Etruscans, union and unity in Rome.

¹ The three principal are Tina, the Ζεύς of the Greeks, Juno, whose Etruscan name is not known, and Minerva (Αθηνη). Then came Tinia, son of Tina, Thurms, Sethlans (Διονυσος, Ἑρμης, Ἡφαιστος).

² Etruria bore, in relation to Latium, a feature to which the Greeks were strangers—the perpetuity and community of family names. Individuals were distinguished by surnames. In the epitaphs, we find the name of the mother more frequently set forth than that of the father. The eldest son seems to have been the prince of the family, the Lucumon. He was generally designated by the title of *Lar* or *Lars*, lord. The second son was usually called Aruns. The estates of the nobles were indivisible and inalienable. The following are the names of some of the chief Etruscan families: The Cilnii of Aretium, the Cæcinas of Volterra, the Musonii of Volsinii, the Salvii of Ferentinum, or Perusia, (the emperor Otho was one of this family,) the Flavii of Terentinum, &c. &c.

ORIGIN AND ORGANIZATION OF THE CITY.

CHAPTER I.

THE KINGS¹—MYTHIC EPOCH.

THE Roman hero, the founder of the city, must, at first, be a man without country and without law—an *outlaw*, an exile, a bandit, synonymous words with barbarian nations. Such are the Hercules and the Theseus of Greece. Even

¹ Perhaps it will not be unprofitable to recal to mind, at least by a simple table of names and dates, the accepted history of the three first centuries of Rome.

Romulus and *Remus*, sons of Mars and Rhea-Sylvia. They re-establish their grandfather Numitor upon the throne of Alba. They found Rome 754 years before J. C. Romulus kills his brother. In order to people his city, he opens an asylum. He classes the people into patricians and plebeians; institutes patronage; divides the citizens into tribes; chooses three hundred senators, and three hundred knights.

Rape of the Sabines; Acron, king of the Ceninans, is killed by Romulus, who carries off the principal spoils, *opima*. Defeat of the Crustumers and the Antemnates. War against the Sabines. Treachery of Tarpeia. The wives of the Romans separate the two armies. Union of the two nations. Romulus shares the throne with Tatius, the Sabine king. Murder of the latter. Success of Romulus against the Fidenates and Veians. He sets the example of sending colonies among the conquered nations, and of transferring to Rome part of the latter. His death; his apotheosis. Interregnum.

714. *Numa Pompilius*. His pacific character. Temple of Janus. Reform of the calendar. Vestal virgins. *Feciales*. Distribution of the people into communities of arts and trades. Writings of Numa.

670. *Tullus Hostilius*. Combat of the Horatii and Curiatii. The young Horatius kills his sister. Treachery and punishment of Metius Sufferius. Distribution of Alba.

638. *Ancus Martius*. His successes over the Latins, the Fidenates, and the Sabines. Bridge on the Janiculum; port of Ostia; salt-beds; prison in Rome, &c. Lucumon, of a Corinthian family, but born at

in the present day, the *banditti* are the heroic portion of the Roman people. The most heroic popular hero in the middle ages, the Norman Roger, the founder of the Sicilian monarchy, boasted of having commenced his career by robbing the stables of Robert Guiscard. The type of heroism with the Romans is not as it was in Asia, an incarnate god. The mission of Romulus is less lofty; to found Rome, the son of a god is sufficient. He is born, not of a virgin, like the Indian gods, but of a vestal. In him, as in his city, are combined the spirit of the Italian Mars, western, (*mors, mavors, mamers,*) which knows no superiority but that of strength, and the spirit of the Eastern Vesta, mysterious principle of religious and civil

Tarquinius, in Etruria, establishes himself at Rome, under the name of Tarquin.

614. *Tarquin*, surnamed the Elder. New senators chosen from among the people. Defeat of the Sabines, the Latins, and the Etruscans. Drains, aqueducts, circus. Assassination of Tarquin.

576. *Servius Tullius*. War with the Etruscans. Servius coins money; establishes the census; divides the Roman people into classes and centuries, and substitutes the vote by centuries for the vote by tribes. Enfranchisement of the slaves. Alliance with the Latins. Servius Tullius is assassinated by Tarquin, his son-in-law.

532. *Tarquin*, surnamed the Haughty. He tyrannises over his subjects, and ingratiates himself with the allies. Latin Feriæ. Tarquin, conqueror of the Volsci, takes Suessia Pometia; he then defeats the Sabines. Sextus Tarquin surprises Gabii by treachery. Construction of the Capitol and several other works. Sybilline books. Sextus Tarquinius ravishes Lucretia. Tarquinius Collatinus, her husband, Junius Brutus, and Valerius, unite to avenge her. The Tarquins are banished from Rome, (the year of Rome 244, 509 before J. C.: in 510, the Pisistratidæ were driven from Athens.)

509. *Republic*. First consuls, Brutus and Collatinus. Conspiracy of the sons of Brutus. Tarquin arms the Veians and the Tarquinians against Rome. Combat between Brutus and Aruns, in which they both lose their lives. Popular laws proposed by the consul Valerius. Appeal to the people. Questors, &c.

Siege of Rome by Porsenna, king of Clusium, and ally to Tarquin. War with the Sabines. Appius Claudius, of Sabine origin, establishes himself at Rome. The Latins armed against Rome. Division between the two orders on the subject of debts. *Dictatorship*. Titus Lartius, first dictator. Aulus Posthumius gains a memorable battle at Lake Regillus. The two sons of Tarquin, Sextus and Titus, with Octavius Mamilius, his son-in-law and chief of the Latins, are killed.

War with the Volsci. Interior troubles. Appius Claudius struggles against the plebeians. Servilius, a consul who affects popularity, defeats the enemy, and triumphs in spite of the senate. Manius Valerius, the

hierarchy. In Romulus, the plebeians and patricians already co-existed.

Thus he is at first presented as double; he has a brother (Romus, Romulus, as Pœnus, Pœnulus, &c.), and he kills him. It was sufficient, in fact, that the primitive duality should be expressed in the foundation of the town.¹ Remus leaps the ramparts, and destroys the unity. It is necessary that it should disappear, that it should expire, until the introduction of strangers to Rome allows duality to re-appear, with Tatius, whom Romulus will also be accused of killing. These symbolical murders, however, do no more harm to the good and just Romulus than the mutilations of Saturn to the father of gods and men.

The Astyages of Herodotus feared that his daughter

brother of Publicola, elected dictator, declares himself in favour of the multitude, to appease the troubles. 491. Withdrawal of the people to the Sacred Mount. Apologue of Menenius. *Establishment of the Tribunes*. Inviolability and *veto* of the tribunes. Junius Brutus, Sicinius, Icilius, P. and C. Tiberius, are the first invested with this magistracy. Creation of the plebeian ediles. Famine. Troubles favourable to the power of the tribunes, who obtain the right of convoking the people, of making the plebiscita, of judging the patricians, &c. Exile of Coriolanus. He besieges Rome, at the head of the Volsci. Veturia, his mother, succeeds in disarming him. 484. An agrarian law proposed for the first time, by the consul Spurius Cassius, who is condemned to death. War with the Veians. Sanguinary victory gained by the consul M. Fabius. Devotion of the three hundred and six Fabii. The tribunes Genucius, Volero, and Lætorius, ardent promoters of the agrarian laws. The army decimated by Appius Claudius. Accused by the tribunes, this consul destroys himself. Antium, a town of the Volsci, is taken by Titus Quintius. The consul Furius is besieged in his camp by the Equi.

460-50. Troubles caused by the law proposed by the tribune Terentillus Arsa, to fix jurisprudence. Banishment of Ceso, the son of Cincinnatus. The Capitol is surprised by the Sabines and the exiles. Cincinnatus quits his plough for the dictatorship, and delivers Minucius, who is shut up in a defile by the Equi. The senate sends him into Greece, to collect the laws of Solon. 449. *Decemvirs*. Appendix XIV.

¹ Niebuhr. Romus, Romulus, as pœnus, pœnulus. The double Janus on the *as*, the symbol of Rome, (Macrobius, iii. 9.) Quirium, the mystic name of Rome, (Id. ib.) M. Blum does not concur in the identity of Remus and Romulus; Remus, Romulus, says he, are clearly not two forms of one word. *Rè*, in Remus, is short. In the language of the augurs, a bird of ill omen was called *Remoris*; the place on the Aventine where Remus consulted the flight of birds, *Rèmorìa*. See Festus, verbo *Inebræ*, *Remores*. *Remus*, *Remoris*, tardiness.

Mandane would give him a grandson. The Amulius of Livy fears that his niece Ilia will present him with a great nephew. Both are deceived alike. Romulus is nourished by a she-wolf, Cyrus by a bitch. Like Cyrus, Romulus places himself at the head of the shepherds; like him, he exercises them by turns in combats and festivals. He is, in like manner, the liberator of his followers, only the proportions of Asia to Europe are observed: Cyrus is the chief of a nation, Romulus of a band; the first founds an empire, the second a town.

The city commences as an asylum, *vetus urbes condentium consilium*—a profound thought, upon which the situation of all the elder towns of antiquity eloquently comments. The citadel and the aristocracy at the summit of a mountain; below, the asylum and the people. Such is the asylum of Romulus between the two summits of the Capitol (*intermontium*).

The city is founded; the city of war. A struggle must be commenced with the neighbouring towns. The origin of temptation in the traditions of every nation, the symbol of that desire which takes man out of himself, the occasion of war and conquest, is woman. With her, the heroic struggle commences. The mistresses of Rama and Crishna are in the Indian poems carried off by Ravana and Sishupala; Brunhilde by Siegfried, in the Niebelungen; in the book of heroes, Chriemhild is carried away by the dragon, as Proserpine by the king of the infernal regions; Helen quits Menelaus for the Trojan Paris; the adroit Penelope with difficulty evades the solicitations of her lovers. The progress of humanity is striking. Springing in India from mystical love, the ideal of woman assumes in Germany the features of savage virginity and gigantic force; in Greece, those of grace and stratagem, to arrive among the Romans at the highest pagan morality, to virgin and conjugal dignity. The Sabines only followed their ravishers on compulsion, but, become Roman matrons, they refuse to return to the paternal mansion, disarm their fathers and their husbands, and unite them in one city.

"It is," says Plutarch, "in memory of the rape of the Sabines that the custom is retained of carrying the bride when she crosses the threshold of her husband's house,

and of parting her hair with the point of a javelin. To obtain forgiveness for their violence, the Romans assured certain privileges to their wives. It was regulated, that they should demand from them no other labour than that of spinning wool; that they should take the inside of the path; that there should be neither done nor said anything indecent in their presence; and that the criminal judges should not have the power to summon them before the tribunal; and that their children should wear the *pretexta* and the *bulła*."

Thus, in the time of Plutarch, the remembrance of the barbarism of the old times is already effaced, and to the primitive constitution is referred all the gentleness of manners that the progress of centuries has brought about. Customs are received as laws. Time, the great legislator of nations yet in infancy, is counted as nothing in this history. Romulus creates paternal power; he institutes patronage, and divides the people into patricians, knights, and plebeians. He makes the slaves and strangers exercise the mechanical arts, reserving to the Romans agriculture and war. He assigns to the gods their temples, their altars, their images; he regulates their functions, adopting from the Greek religion all its best features.¹

The Romans receive the Sabines within their walls, or rather join the town of the Palatine and the Capitol to that which the Sabines possessed on the Quirinal. They take Fidenæ from the Etruscans, and form an establishment there. Thus has already commenced the alternate movement of the population which is to constitute the life and strength of Rome; the adoption of the conquered, the foundation of colonies.

Romulus dies early, and by the hands of his own people. Such is the characteristic of the hero; he appears upon the earth, regenerates it by his exploits or his institutions, and perishes, the victim of perfidy. It is the common end of Dchemschid, of Hercules, of Achilles, of Siegfried, and of Romulus. The founder of the city disappears in the midst of a storm, carried to heaven by the gods, or torn to pieces by the patricians.

¹ *Dionysius and Plutarch.*

This last feature throws light to a great depth upon the gloomy history of the kings of Rome. In the creation of this character of Romulus, plebeian influence is visible. The first line of his history is an impeachment of the atrocity of the ancient oriental and patrician worship. Ilia and Romulus in the cradle are the victims of Vesta. Romulus opens an asylum to all men, without distinction of law or religion. The patricians, with whom he each day associates strangers in the possession of the new city, destroy him, and substitute for him Numa, the son-in-law of the Sabine Latius, the colleague and enemy of Romulus, who is accused of having killed him. The successor of Romulus is the patrician ideal. He introduces into Rome the worship of Vesta, whose severity Romulus had so cruelly felt at his birth.

If the plebeians had continued the narrative, Numa would have been represented under less favourable colours. But here, the patricians evidently take up the story, (*alternis dicetis, amant alterna camænae.*) This Numa, all warrior and barbarian as he must have been, in his quality of Sabine,¹ is depicted to us with all the characteristics of an Etruscan pontiff. Of all the Muses, he adores only Tacita, which the Greeks have explained in their own way, by making him the disciple of Pythagoras, who lived a century after him. He writes books, like Tages and Bacches. He substitutes the year of twelve months for that of ten. His Egeria, who dictates laws to him, has, like the Tanaquil of Tarquin the elder, the character of a Celtic or German Velleda. Born on the day of the foundation of the city, Numa symbolises the strangers admitted into Rome from the time of his birth. He founds the temple of Janus, which is open during war, and shut in time of peace. He establishes the Sabines, the Flamens. He consecrates property by the worship of the god Terminus, etc.

It is amusing to see how much pains the sophist his-

¹ All the historical information that has come down to us of the barbarism of the pastoral tribes, and more especially of the pastoral mountaineers of Italy, contradicts the romantic notion of the gentleness and moderation of the Sabines. Civilized nations have ever thus fancifully exaggerated the happiness and virtues of barbarian periods.

torians of Roman Greece have taken to soften the austere features of the ideal patrician. Numa is a contemplative philosopher, retiring into solitude, walking in the woods and meadows consecrated to the gods, enjoying their intimate society and conversation. How is such a man to be persuaded to accept royalty. It is related that Marcus Aurelius, on hearing that he had been adopted by Antoninus, extemporised a long dissertation on the advantages and inconveniences of sovereign power. Interminable harangues upon this subject are also necessary to decide the good Numa. He accepts, but still in a solitary valley he receives, during the night, the counsels of the nymph Egeria, his wife or mistress. The austere old man (*incanaque menta regis romani. . . . Virg.*) is metamorphosed into a sort of Endymion.

One generation suffices for the savage companions of Romulus to become as pacific as their historians, the Greeks; and the Romans are not the only people whom the mildness and justice of such a king softened and charmed. "All the neighbouring towns seem to have imbibed the salutary breath of a sweet and pure air which comes from Rome; it insinuates into the hearts of men a desire to live in peace, and to cultivate the earth, to educate their children in tranquillity, and to serve and honour the gods. Soon there were only to be seen everywhere festivals and sacrifices, games and entertainments; the people, without any apprehension of danger, intermingled in a friendly manner. Thus a spring of good wisdom was, as it were, refreshing and fecundating all Italy."¹

Fortunately, the history of Tullus Hostilius carries us out of these romantic puerilities. Here the ruggedness of the national genius rejects the embellishments of the Greeks. It is a wholly barbarian song. Horatius kills his sister; the father declares that his daughter has justly perished, and that he should himself have killed her. This is the terrible right of the father of a family over those who are within his power, (*sui juris*), a right which Amulius has already exercised over the two sons of his niece Ilia. Finally, the terrible condemnation with which Tullius punishes the treachery of the dictator of Alba.

¹ Plutarch.

brings us again to historical reality, and recalls to us those ferocious manners which the luxurious fictions of the Greeks were just before making us forget.

Except the poetical embellishments and multiplication of the combatants by three, (one for each tribe,) the combat of the Horatii and the Curiatii corresponds with that of Romulus and Remus. If the combatants here are not brothers, they are allies. As *Romulus* and *Remus* are two forms of the same word, so *Horatius* must be a form of *Curiatius*; thus with us, Clodion, Hlodion, following the true orthography, Chotaire, Hlotaire, Clovis, Hlodowig, Childeric, Hilderic, Hildebert, Childebert, Chilperic, Hilperic, &c. *Curiatius* (*à curia*) means *noble, patrician* (*Janus curiatus*). This combat is simply that between the patricians of the two countries. Hymen and war are mingled together, as in the history of the Sabines. Here the heroine is a Roman; she interferes also, but too late to separate the combatants. The war ends, like the combat of Romulus and Remus, by a fratricide. Horace kills his sister; Rome destroys Alba, her sister or her mother, which is, perhaps, the same thing individualized by poetry; the name of a woman for the name of a city. But this murder of the metropolis by the colony had to be justified. The Romans, of course, made none but just wars, so Alba must have deserved its fate. What is the historian to do? without troubling himself about probabilities, he raises Fidene, a recent colony of Rome, and then gives occasion for the treachery of the dictator of Alba, Mutius Sufferius, which he needed as a motive for the destruction of Alba, and the transference of the Albans to Rome.

Tullus Hostilius perished for having dared to lay his hand upon the altar, and to call down the lightning, in imitation of the pontiffs, that is to say, of the patricians. It is equally impossible to understand how a plebeian could have reigned, and how a patrician could have incurred the displeasure of the gods by occupying himself with sacred things. However that may be, the warrior, perishing for having interfered with the privilege of the pontiffs, *i.e.* patricians, recalls the end of Romulus, whom also they tore in pieces. And if we reflect that an Hostilius is

named among the companions of Romulus, who fought against Remus, this new coincidence, added to many others, may lead us to think that Romulus and Tullus, although separated by Numa, are but one personification of a warrior founder of Rome, opposed to the pacific founder. Thus we should find the resemblance complete between the history of Cyrus and that of Romulus-Tullus. The first overthrows the empire of the Medes, the country of his mother, Mandane, as the second destroys the town of Alba, the birthplace of Ilia.

Ancus, the grandson of the pacific Numa, and surnamed *Martius*, presents a mixture of confused traditions, and a combination of contradictory characteristics in the same individual. Without yet adverting to the genealogical falsifications which we have to indicate, the whole of this reign offers a series of enigmas and historical monstrosities. First, this descendant of the mysterious Numa, who had caused all his writings to be buried in the same tomb with himself, publishes upon tables the mysteries of religion, of which, so many ages afterwards, the plebeians were still ignorant. He founds the port of Ostia for a nation without a navy, and without navigation.¹ He establishes the conquered Latins on the Aventine, and thus founds that part of Rome which may be called the plebeian city; yet, long after, we find passed, to the great satisfaction of the people, a law, dividing the Aventine among the plebeians. The same Ancus, so stigmatized by the poet as too popular,² digs under the Capitoline mount, and in sight of the Forum, that cruel prison which, up to the epoch when the laws of equality were passed, was opened only for plebeians.

It is probable that this monster, so discordant with itself, may be cut into two: one half, the victories of Ancus over the Latins, being transferred to Romulus or Tullus; the other, I mean the bridge towards Etruria, the prison, the port, the salt-pits, established upon the Etruscan side of the

¹ The few exceptions quoted confirm the fact. (See Freret). The navy mentioned in the first treaty between Rome and Carthage (Polyb. iii.) did not belong to the Romans but to the Latins, their allies or subjects.

² "Nimium gaudens popularibus auris."—Virg. *Æn.* vi. 816.

Tiber, will belong to the domination of the Etruscan kings. The Etruscans, a navigating people, required the port; the first bridge was doubtless the work of the government of the pontiffs (*Pontifex*, bridge-maker, *Festus*); and the severity of the domination of strangers over Rome must have rendered the prison necessary.

It is under Ancus that tradition places the arrival at Rome of *Lucumon Tarquin*, to speak like the annalists who have taken a name of dignity and of country for a proper name. The phrase should be the *Lucumon* or rather the *Lucamons Tarquinii*. Let us examine the remainder of the narrative.

The Corinthian, Demarates, takes refuge at Tarquinii, and his eldest son becomes a lucumon there; this was the name of the Etruscan patricians. This son, at the instigation of his wife, Tanaquil, learned in augural science, establishes himself at Rome. He is so favourably received there, both by the people and the king, that the latter appoints him guardian of his children. At the death of Ancus, Tarquin sends his wards to the chase, and in their absence gains over the people by a flattering harangue. It is easily seen here that the historian, governed by his Greek habits, regarded the Rome of this period, with its aristocratic *curiæ* and its patrician senate, in the same light with the fluctuating *ecclesiæ* of the Ionian cities, in which *tyranny* was often the prize of eloquence. The new king of Rome, that is to say, of a city whose territory scarcely extended beyond sight of its walls, in a few years conquered the whole of Latium, defeated the Sabines, and received the submission of the great nation of the Etruscans. Bear in mind that one of the twelve cities of Etruria alone sufficed, some years after, to place Rome within an inch of destruction, and that a war of three hundred years was necessary before Rome could make herself mistress of Veii.

The analogy we have remarked between Romulus and Tullus Hostilius, although separated by the legislator Numa, is also to be remarked between Tarquin the elder, and Tarquin the haughty, although separated by the legislator Servius. The construction of the Capitol and of the sewers, the establishment of the supremacy of Rome over

her Latin allies, are equally attributed to the two Tarquins; both defeat the Sabines, both reign without consulting the senate; the first introduces into it the *patres minorum gentium*, chiefs of the new patrician families; the second calls strangers around him, which is probably the same thing under another form. There is the same religious spirit in the two Tarquins: the elder raises a statue to Accius Nævius, in which he is represented cutting a pebble with a razor; the second buys the Sybilline books. Here are two reigns, which bear a strong resemblance to each other, and are, perhaps, only one, related in two different ways; despite all these resemblances, the first Tarquin is treated with as much favour as the other meets with severity. Thus, to give only one example, the constructions of the one constitute his glory; those of the second are made matter of reproach against him as part of his tyranny; *Romanos homines, victores omnium circa populorum, opifices ac lapidas pro bellatoribus factos, Livy.*) The fable of Mezentius, in its terrible brevity, is a more ancient and more confused reminiscence of the tyranny of the Etruscans over Latium. *Mortua quin etiam jungebat corpora vivis, &c.* The atrocity of punishments is a characteristic feature of eastern governments, and that of the Etruscans is eastern, at least in spirit.

During the dominion of the Etruscans, Rome would change her government according to the revolutions of Etruria. Thus, when the lucumon, Cele Vibenna, (see the following chapter,) emigrated with an army, composed, doubtless, of aliens and serfs, when this army invaded Rome, and the death of its chief placed its power in the hands of his client Mastarna, the latter protected the men of inferior rank, the last comers in this great asylum of Italian populations. A stranger himself, he desired that the plebeians, that is to say, the strangers, should have a share in the power in proportion to their riches. Beside the ancient assembly of the curies, in which the patricians alone took part, he founded that of the centuries.

How long did this order of things remain? Nothing leads us to suppose that it was restricted to the life of one man. It is probable that the period, more or less extended, in which the plebeians took part in the assemblies, was igno-

niously designated by the patricians, the reign of the son of slavery, of Servius (*servius, captivâ natus.*) Thus the expulsion of the Tarquins, like the foundation of the tribunate, has been insultingly personified under the title of Brutus, a word nearly synonymous with *Servius*, since it originally signified revolted slave.¹

The plebeians would not deprive Servius of the ignoble name thus conferred upon him by the patricians. They accepted it as the revolted Calabrians adopted that of Brutus; as the insurgents of Holland prided themselves on that of *gueux*. But, in return, they loaded their favourite with all the virtues which popularity can bestow. The good king, Servius, redeemed debtors become slaves, paid their debts, and distributed lands among the poor plebeians. If the Latin confederation acknowledged the supremacy of Rome under the tyranny of the Tarquins, it could not fail to submit to it during the reign of Servius. The Latin towns sent their deputies to the temple of Djanns-djana, (Janus-Juno) which he founded on the plebeian mountain, on the Aventine, a place common to the Romans and the Latins, where the plebeians, that is to say, the Latins recently admitted into the city, afterwards sought a refuge against the tyranny of the patricians, the ancient inhabitants of Rome, (*unde inchoastis initia libertatis vestræ,*) and which was not inclosed until the time of the empire in the pomœrium, in the sacred inclosure of the city, in Rome subject to the augural power of the patricians. That is the sombre Aventine, the mountain of Remus, occupied by him under evil auspices, the mountain on which stones so often rain, according to Livy, and where storms are seen forming. *Hoc nemus, hunc inquit, frondoso vertice collem, quis Deus incertum est, habitat Deus.* The Etruscan poet repeats, without understanding it, a tradition of Etruria, expressed symbolically. More than once, doubtless, the patricians witnessed the formation on the plebeian mount of storms about to burst upon the Forum.²

¹ After the first year of the consulate, the name of Brutus does not recur in the *Fasti Consulares*.

² The evil genius who inhabited the Aventine was Remus. According to Messala, cited by Aulus Gellius, xiii. 14, Mount Aventine was unlucky; and according to Seneca, *de Brev. vit.* c. 14, it was not in-

Servius, becoming a man, must perish in order to give place to the new domination of the Tarquinians. Servius had married the two Tullias, his daughters, to the two sons of Tarquin the elder; the good Tullia had married the wicked Tarquin, the wicked Tullia the good Tarquin. The latter poisons her husband, and persuades her brother-in-law to rid himself in like manner of his wife.

This double crime is but the prelude and the means to a greater. Tarquin seats himself on the throne of Servius, precipitates the old man out of the window, and the horrible Tullia, on her way to congratulate her husband, does not hesitate to drive her chariot over the body of her father. I know not what the reader may think of this symmetrical opposition of the good and bad Tarquin, the good and bad Tullia; of this cross-poisoning, and the union of the two criminals tolerated by the good man Servius. For my part, rather than admit this romance, I would see in the wicked daughter of Servius a portion of the plebeians who, although raised to political life by the new institutions, invite the Tarquinians to Rome, and unite with them to destroy public liberty.

And this is not the first time that Servius has been killed by the Tarquinians. It is still the same story of Remus killed by his brother, of Romulus torn in pieces by the patricians, of Tullus, destroyed for having interfered with the privileges of the augurs and pontiffs. The plebeians are Remus, who occupies the Aventine, who has not the auspices with him, and who insults the sacred inclosure of the *pomœrium*; they are Romulus, inasmuch as they contribute, by their successive admission to the city, to the eternal foundation of Rome, which from the first and always was an asylum. But they have been and always will be torn in pieces by the patricians. They are Tullus Hostilius, as the tributary principle of Rome, in opposition, in hostility, with the religious principle. They are Servius, as people of inferior birth. Killed under the name of Servius (son of the slave), they rise

cluded in the *pomœrium*, because the auspices there had been unfavourable to Remus, or because the plebeians had retired thither. See also Dionys. iii. xi. The Aventine was not included in the *pomœrium* until the reign of the emperor Claudius.—Gellius, xiii. 14.

again twice under the name of Brutus (*revolted slave*), first at the expulsion of the Tarquinians, which occasions the establishment of the consuls, and then at the foundation of the tribunate. The first consul, the first tribune, are both alike called *Brutus*.

This poetical necessity of individualizing ideas in a language incapable of abstractions, obliged the Romans to personify rising liberty under the name of a king. That this king may be popular, he is supposed to have the intention of abdicating, and that later in the foundation of the republic, they followed his written instructions. Thus, the memory of Servius remained dear to the people, hostile as it was to the name of king. As tradition assigned his birth to a day of nones, without stating of what month, the plebeians celebrated his birth every nones. The senate even judged it advisable to order, that for the future the markets should not be held on the nones, for fear the country people then assembled should seek to establish by violence the laws of Servius.

From the commencement of the reign of the Tarquinians, we have entered upon a world of prodigies, oracles, symbols; the sacerdotal, that is to say, Pelasgo-Etruscan spirit, is visible, despite the efforts made by the Greeks to Hellenise these lucumons. We have already referred to the so original story of the augur Attius Nævius and the Sibylline books. When the first Tarquin descends the janiculum with his wife Tanaquil to enter Rome, the oriental eagle, the royal bird of Persia and Rome, takes off his *pileus*, and replaces it upon his head. Servius in his cradle is surrounded with a divine flame, which lights up without burning him; other prodigies terrify Tarquin the Haughty, who sends to consult the oracle of Delphi. The persons sent are his two sons and his nephew Brutus, who, through fear of the tyrant, hid his wisdom under an apparent imbecility. He offers to the god the symbol of his assumed folly, a hollow cane, which contains a gold ingot. It is thus that in Herodotus, the Scythians sent symbolical presents to Darius. The oracle having announced that he who shall kiss his mother shall reign, Brutus throws himself down and kisses the earth, the common mother of all men. Another fact, not

less striking: Tarquin the Haughty, not being able to take the town of Gabii, one of his sons introduces himself as exiled by his father, and secretly sends him a messenger to demand counsel. Tarquin answers nothing, but he silently walks in his garden, striking off with a cane the heads of the tallest poppies; Sextus understands that he must destroy the principal Gabians. This is truly the symbolical language of silent Etruria.

If it were possible to doubt that these Tarquins were Etruscan lucumons, as their name indicates, and as the historians uniformly state, it is sufficient to see them take refuge at Cære, in the same town to which the vestals afterwards carried the holy things, on the approach of the Gauls (*Cære, ceremonia*).

It is true that Tarquin took refuge with a Latin, his son-in-law, Octavius Mamilius, but this Latin is of *Tusculum*, and it is in the territory of Tusculum that was fought the great battle of the lake Regillus, in which perished the last hopes of the Tarquins. Finally, and this seems decisive, Tarquin expels all the Latin gods from the Capitol, except the god of youth, and the god Terminus, establishing there the three great Etruscan divinities, which became the Jupiter, the Juno, and the Minerva of the Romans. I cannot understand how Niebuhr, who himself makes this remark, should persist in bringing the Tarquins from Latium. Even the form of the Capitol, which corresponds with that of the Etruscan temples, proves the origin of its founders.¹ The solemn foundation of Rome, its primitive form, (*Roma quadrata*, as Cosa, &c.,) the Etruscan mystery of the pomœrium, attributed to the Alban Romulus, agree more naturally with that epoch of Roman royalty in which Etruscan influence is everywhere visible. A sacerdotal government, enduring and patient, as those of India, Egypt, and Etruria, one of those theocracies which believe in their eternity, is necessary to raise those prodigious monuments

¹ The head of a man fresh cut off, which, discovered in digging the foundations for the Capitol, was regarded as an omen that Rome was to be the head of the world, would seem to indicate the human sacrifices of the Etruscans, of which one tradition refers the origin to Tarquinius Superbus.—Macrob. i. 7.

which one king would, perhaps, commence, and which would be abandoned by his successor. That Capitol, the site alone of which was prepared with such labour, and which embraced a space of eight hundred feet in circumference, that *Cloaca Maxima*, which has borne Rome so many centuries, and seems even now more firm and entire than the Tarpeian rock which overhangs it.

The expulsion of the priest-kings of Tarquinii was celebrated every year at Rome by a festival,¹ as the Persians kept the *magophonia*, the massacre of the magi, the Median priests, who, after the death of Cambyses, had usurped the kingdom of the Persians. The Romans, however, acknowledged the superiority of those whom they treated so ill. They continued to consult the Etruscan augurs on all important occasions; the patricians even sent their children to Etruria, but the people ever regarded them with suspicion; and when they thought themselves deceived by them, did not hesitate to punish them cruelly, without regarding their sacred character. The statue of Horatius Cocles having been struck by lightning, they sent for the Etruscan aruspices, who, out of hatred to Rome, counselled them to set it in a place which the rays of the sun never lighted. Fortunately, the thing was discovered, and the statue was placed on a more elevated spot, which turned to the great advantage of the republic. The aruspices avowed their perfidy, and were put to death. A song was composed on this subject, which the little children sang throughout the town:

Woe to the evil counsellor :²
On him the evil falls.

Do not these traditions, so injurious to the Etruscans, preserved by a people who revered their science, and owed to them a part of their religion, seem to indicate a fear lest they should regain their ancient supremacy? Royalty, however, seemed so inherent to the priesthood, that, in spite of the odium attached to the name of king, a *rex sacro-*

¹ *Regifugia*, or *Fugalia*, Dionys. v.

² Aulus Gellius, v. 5. See also in Plutarch, *Life of Camillus*, the history of the earthen car, which the Romans ordered the potters of Veii to make.

rum was preserved, even under the republic. If we reflect that the Roman religion was entirely bound to the Etruscan doctrine of the augurs, this name of king would seem especially to belong to Etruria. But let us return to the history of Dionysius and Livy.

At the time when the outrage offered to Lucretia by one of the Tarquins raised the people against them, they had confided the first magistracy, the place of tribune of the *Celeres*, to the idiot Brutus. He made use of this power to drive them from Rome, and then from Collatia. They remained at Gabii, and doubtless also at Tusculum. This Brutus, who exiled Tarquinius Collatinus, as belonging to the family of the tyrants, is himself the son of a Tarquinia, and nephew of Tarquin the Haughty. This striking contradiction seems to indicate that this history expresses general or collective ideas by the names of men. Brutus, son of Tarquinia, may signify national independence succeeding to the tyranny of the Tarquinians. The sons of Brutus are the freed Romans; some of them conspire to recal the Tarquinians, and are condemned by Brutus, their own father. The Greeks, who first drew up the Roman history from the brief indications of the ancient monuments, not finding the name of Brutus after the epoch of the tribunate, not being able to make him live so long, and not understanding that Brutus, originally a patrician, since he was first consul, could become a plebeian, to found the tribunate, again form two men from one idea, as Romulus and Tullus, as Tarquin the Elder, and Tarquin the Haughty. Then they seek to get rid of the first Brutus in a regular manner. He must die. He shall at least die in a manner worthy of a hero. The Veians, leagued with Tarquin against Rome, advance, led by the young Aruns, the second son of Tarquin. The name of Aruns is invariably that of the younger brother of the lucumon, and is probably also a generic name. Aruns and Brutus, perceiving each other, urge on their horses, meet, and both fall at the same instant, struck with a mortal blow; it is the death of Eteocles and Polynices. After an indecisive battle, the Etruscans retire, and during the night a loud voice issues from the wood of Aricia, and announces that the Etruscans have lost one

soldier more than the Romans, and that the latter are the conquerors.

The Tarquinians do not, however, consider themselves vanquished. They address themselves to Porsenna, *lar* of Clusium (*lar* means lord, and is not the name of a man), he whose fabulous tomb has been so ingeniously restored, and again overthrown by M. Letronne. It is necessary to know this specimen of the fables which the Etruscans have attached to the name of Porsenna. The Romans, apparently, would not be left in the background.¹ The heroes of the mythical epochs, created by national vanity, and gifted by her at will, can alone be constructed of such tombs.

The Romans who so lately and so bravely maintained in battle the attack of the Veians and Tarquinians, and destroyed 11,000 men, allow Porsenna to advance in peace as far as the *janiculum*. They would have permitted him to enter Rome by the Sublician bridge, had not Horatius Cocles, with Herminius and Lartius, defended the bridge against an entire army. The Romans, amongst other recompences, gave their defender as much land as he could encompass with a plough in one day.² Thus Rome, whose territory did not then extend to more than three leagues beyond its walls, gave perhaps a square league; and more than two hundred years after, when Italy was conquered, the conqueror of Pyrrhus received only fifty acres. These are the exaggerations of poetry. Poetry thus cases the warriors of barbarous times in gold, the Clephtes of Olympus, and the heroes of Niebelungen, and the Sabines of Tatius, whose glittering bracelets dazzled the beautiful Tarpeia, and induced her to open the gates of the citadel.

The Etruscans reduced the town to a state of famine, when the devotion of a young patrician, named Caius Mucius (take notice that the family Mucia was plebeian),

¹ Pliny, xxxi. 19. Appendix VI.

² In the same way, in the plain of Macedon, Sultan Mahomet II. invested a Turkish hero with as much land as he could ride round in a day. The Scythian who guarded the sacred gold, received, according to Herodotus (iv. 7.), a similar present. There are numerous such stories in both ancient and modern history.

procured Rome an unexpected deliverance. Determined to penetrate into the enemy's camp, and to stab the king of Clusium, he commences by confiding this secret to the senate, that is to say, to *three hundred* persons; he kills a secretary instead of the king, and to punish his right hand for having missed the blow, he allows it to be consumed in the fire of an altar. Profiting, then, by the terror of Porsenna, he declares to him that *three hundred* other young patricians have sworn to make the same attempt. The poor prince hastens to send messengers to Rome. He readily deserts the Tarquins, for whose sake he had come, and contents himself with procuring the restitution to the Veians of the lands of which the Romans had deprived them. Among the hostages which were given, were several young girls, a German custom (Tacitus), and perhaps Etruscan, of which we find no other example in the history of Greece or Rome. However that may be, the young girls left the Etruscan camp as easily as Mucius had entered it, and, guided by Clelia, one of them, they swam across the Tiber. The Roman senate, a religious observer of the rights of nations, as it had shown in approving the assassination of Porsenna, does not hesitate to send back the young girls. On the other side, the Tuscan, not willing to see himself outdone in generosity, grants to Clelia the liberty of some of her hostages, and gives her a fine horse and arms. He carries his generosity towards the Romans so far as to make them a present of all the provisions then in his camp. From this present of the king was taken the expression applied to the sale of confiscated goods: *to sell the goods of King Porsenna*, a derivation which Livy himself considers absurd.

A benefit is never lost. This good and too easy Porsenna having been defeated by the inhabitants of Aricia, part of his followers take refuge at Rome, and are received there with the most touching hospitality; the wounded were shared among them to be nursed. These found themselves so well off that they would not quit the town, and occupied a new quarter, called after the name of their country, *Tusculus Vicus*, quarter of the Tuscans. Porsenna, though grateful, sent again a claim in favour of the

Tarquins: "But the Romans having answered that they would rather consent to the annihilation of their town than to that of their liberty, he was ashamed of his importunities. Well, said he, since it is a thing irrevocably decided, I will no longer fatigue you with useless representations; the Tarquins must seek another retreat. I will not let anything trouble the union which ought to reign between us. And he restored to the Romans the hostages which still remained with him, and the lands which he had restored to the Veians, his allies, (which consequently belonged no longer to him.)" Who could have hoped that the fear caused by Mucius to this excellent prince should produce such fortunate results. For, with the exception of this alarm, history assigns no cause for reconciliation. This benign and insignificant figure of Porsenna in the Roman traditions, reminds us of that which the Niebelungen give to the king of the Huns, to the terrible Attila. The *scourge of God* becomes in the poem patient and debonair, like Charlemagne in Turpin. Attila remains an impassible spectator of the combat of giants in which all the heroes perish at the end of the poem. The battle of Lake Regillus thus clears the scene of Roman history of the whole race of heroes, who should disappear before the light of history, like spirits flying in the morning at cock-crow.

The thirty Latin nations are dragged against Rome by the dictator of Tusculum, Octavius Mamilius, son-in-law of Tarquin. The Romans opposed to him a temporary king, whom they also called a dictator. Before the commencement of the war between nations united by ties of blood (which, however, was nothing new to them), they permitted the women of each nation, who were married to men of the other, to return to their parents. All the Roman women abandoned their Latin husbands; all the Latin women, with the exception of two, remained at Rome.

The two armies having met, all the heroes meet hand to hand, like those of the Iliad, and their alternate success balances the victory. Old Tarquin combats Posthumus, the Roman dictator. He of Tusculum, Octavius Mamilius, falls upon Cebutius, general of the cavalry, and

perishes by the hand of Herminius, one of the companions of Horatius Cocles. Marcus Valerius attacks a son of Tarquin, falls, and his two nephews, sons of Valerius Publicola, meet their death in endeavouring to save the body of their uncle. Finally, with the exception of the dictator, all the chiefs are killed or wounded. Victory was hardly assured to the Romans, when at Rome they beheld two young warriors of gigantic stature, mounted upon white horses. They washed themselves and their arms in the fountain of Juturna, near the temple of Vesta, and they announced to the assembled people the defeat of the Latins. They were the Dioscures, to whom the dictator had vowed to erect a temple during the fight, and who had been seen to combat and decide the victory. Upon the field of battle, the trace of a horse's foot stamped in the basalt attested the presence of the two divinities.

This glorious victory produced no result: after some years, in which no events occurred, Rome acknowledged the independence and equality of the Latins. The date of the battle is uncertain, which proves that it did not figure in the fasti of their triumphs.¹ The true result of the battle was to terminate the royal epoch and to prepare a new one. *Thus the shades of Lucretia are appeased, and the men of the heroic time have disappeared from the world, before injustice, destroying the state which they had freed, give birth to insurrection.*

CHAPTER II.

Probable origin of Rome—Republic—Heroic age—Curies and Centuries
—Struggle between the patricians and the plebeians—Tribunate.

LET us rise above this minute criticism, in the labyrinth of which one may turn for ever. Let us interrogate common sense. We will demand of it some probable ideas upon which we can rely. Probability is much in a history so obscure and confused.

¹ Livy, xxx. 45.

Rome is a city of Pelasgo-Latin origin. The tradition which gives it Alba for a metropolis, and carries its origin, through Alba and Lavinium, to the great Pelasgic town of Troy, was publicly adopted by the Roman nation, which acknowledged the inhabitants of Ilium for its parents. The Asiatic worship of Vesta, that of the penates, analogous to the Pelasgic Cabiri, and represented, like Romulus and Remus, under the form of two young men, again attest this origin. It clearly explains how the Romans, whose connexion with the Hellenes was so late, have in their religion and in their language a distant resemblance to Greece. The Etruscan rites, conformably with which Rome was founded, must have been common among all the Pelasgi who occupied the coasts of Italy. The Pelasgi reigned over the population of Latium, but in Etruria they mingled with the victorious Rasena, who changed the language more than the religion of this country. The principal heights of the western coast, from the Arno to the Liris, are covered with the ruins of Pelasgic cities.

But if Rome was originally one or several Pelasgic towns dispersed upon the seven hills, it is not less probable that these towns were afterwards occupied by a band of Sabine pastors. Tradition does not conceal that Tatius was conqueror, and that he entered the town; and although it saves the national honour by the interference of the Sabines, it is no less true that the second king of Rome, Numa, was a Sabine.

It is well known how the Mamertines, Sabines, Sabelians, or Samnites (all the same word) seized Capua, how the Campanian Mamertines, long after, made themselves masters of Messina and Rhegium. They entered these towns as allies and auxiliaries, massacred the greater number of the men, and married the women. It is probably to a similar event that we must attribute the foundation of Rome.

The Oscan or Pelasgic villages, dispersed upon the seven hills, were occupied, by free will or by force, by a *ver sacrum* of the Sabine shepherds. The name of *quirinus* and *quirites* is no other than that of *mamertine*, since *mamers* was, with the Sabines, identical with *quir*, lance,

and the Sabine Mars was no other than a lance. These Mamertines threw themselves audaciously on the Tiber, between the great nations of the Oscians and the Etruscans; from thence they levied *blackmail* upon these agriculturists.¹ Recruiting themselves by an asylum, they were long able to perpetuate themselves without women. Romulus himself is the indication of a long cycle. The carrying off of the Sabines, particularized by poetry as one single event, must have taken place at each campaign. They carried off the women at the same time as the slaves, grain, and cattle.

According to the tradition, the hero *Picus* (the woodpecker), the prophetic bird of the Sabines, is the father of Faunus Faunu, or Fatuus. Fatua, who has a son, *Latinus*; or, in other terms, the oracles of the woodpecker, guided the Sabine colonies towards Latium. This *Picus*, adored also under the name of *Picumnus*, was, with the Sabines, armed with a lance, or pike. Among the labourers of Latium he became *Pilumnus*, from *pila*, a mortar to grind and crush. The character of primitive Rome was, however, as is in our days that of the Campagna of Rome, no less pastoral than agricultural. To judge by the language alone, the first Romans must, for the most part, have been pastors and brigands. *Roma*, *rumon* (the Tiber), *rumina*, *ruminalis*, *romulus*, are derived from *ruma*, the breast, as *cures*, *quirinus*, from *curis*, *cur*, *queir*, lance. *Palatinum*, derived from *pales*, the goddess of hay. From *pecus*, flock, money is called *pecunia*; fortune, *peculium*; extortion, *peculatus*. From *pascere*, to feed, comes *pascua*, revenues.

¹ The consuls frequently levied provisions from the conquered: in 472, from the Veians; in 466, from the Antiates and Equi. The institution of the *feciales*, which has been represented as a means of rendering war more solemn and more difficult, indicates rather that it was permanent. It was, doubtless, these officers, with the quæstors, who assisted and collected the contributions from the Etruscan and Volscian labourers. Cincius (in Aulus Gellius, xvi. 4) relates, that formerly, when troops were levied, the military tribunes made the soldiers swear that in the camp, and for ten miles round, they would not steal above the value of a silver piece a day, and that if they found any property of a higher value, they would bring it to the chief. The things which they were permitted to appropriate are thus set forth in the general order: a pike, the staff of a lance, wood, turnips, forage, a leather bottle, a bag, and a torch.

Fruit is called *glans*; that of the oak was the food, *par excellence*, of those innumerable herds of pigs which Italy has always nourished. The enclosures in which the people were assembled in the Campus Martius were called *ovilia*. The names of men also recal this original character of the founders of Rome: Porcius, Verres, Scrofa, Vitulus and Vitellius; Taurus and Ovilus; Capricius, Equitius, &c. The wolf, feared and venerated by the Sabine pastors, occupies, in the first century of Rome, the place which the eagle afterwards held. It was the avowed symbol of brigandage. The Italians called Rome the den of the ravishing wolves of Italy.¹ A she-wolf had nourished Romulus, whose miraculous birth we find in the Sabine traditions. A young girl in the environs of Reate has, by the god Mars-Quirinus, a son, Modius Fabidius, who assembles the vagabonds, and founds with them the town of Cures; that is to say, the city of Mars, or the lance. Thus this poetic form would appear to have been common to the various establishments of Mamertines.

The ancient inhabitants of Rome, subjected by the Sabines, but unceasingly fortified by the strangers who sought refuge in the great asylum, advanced gradually. They had a chief, when the lucumon of Tarquinus (Tarquin the Elder) came to establish himself among them; the Latin Pelasgi were re-established in the splendour of the Etruscan Pelasgi, who brought to Rome the arts of an industrious and civilised people. Doubtless the twelve Etruscan towns which, according to Dionysius, sent to Tarquin the Elder the pretexta, the sceptre, and the curule chair, the ensigns of supremacy, did homage to their metropolis, Tarquinia, in the persons of its lucumons, become masters of Rome.² The sacred patriarchal character of the Tarquinians prevailed over the warlike patriarchate of the Sabines. The Tarquinii willingly admitted into their city new Pelasgo-Latin populations, which could fortify them against the warlike Sabines, who were enclosed within the same walls. The Latins, the plebeians,

¹ See Festus, Nonnius Marcellus, p. 167. Serv. *Æn.* x. viii. 63, 90. Varro, *De re Rus.* II. 11. Macrobi. i. 9.

² Dionysius, ii.

were treated still better when the power passed into the hands of the clients of the Etruscan lucumons, conducted by Servius Tullus, or rather symbolised by this expressive name. These clients were brothers of the Latins by their common Pelasgic origin. Servius, or Mastarna, as the Etruscans called him, is the friend, the ally of the Latins.

From a fragment of a discourse of the emperor Claudius,¹ which has been preserved, a powerful lucumon, named Cœlius Bibenna, had assembled a great army in the time of Tarquin the Elder; one of his companions, Mastarna, came to Rome with the remains of this army, and reigned under the title of Servius Tullius. He gave the name of his ancient chief to Mount Cœlius—"Servius Tullius, si nostros sequimur, captivâ natus Ocreâ, si tuscos Cœli quondam Vivenæ sodalis fidelissimus, omnis que ejus casus comes: postquam variâ fortuna exactus cum omnibus reliquis Cœliani exercitus Etruria excessit, montem Cœlium occupavit, et à duce suo Cœlio itâ appellitatus (*scr. appellitavit*), mutatoque nomine nam tusce Mastarna ei nomen erat, itâ appellitatus est ut dixi, et regnum summa cum regit utilitate obtinuit." Mastarna doubtless brought with him a crowd of clients and men of inferior rank, and uniting them to the Latins and Sabines already established in Rome, overthrew the sacerdotal power of the Tarquinians, to substitute in its place an entirely military constitution, which gave to the town the warlike character which it preserved. He substituted the power of riches for that of nobility, centuries for curies, and military organization for the symbolical form.²

The precocious victory of the plebeians was not, however, of long duration. The Tarquinian lucumons, who had at first attached themselves to them, became masters, and

¹ Pronounced on the occasion of the admission of the Gauls of Lyons to the senate, and found upon two tablets discovered at Lyons in the 16th century. From the time of Justus Lipsius this fragment has been repeatedly printed with the works of Tacitus.

² The character of this constitution cannot be well known until it has brought forth all its fruit; so that we have rejected the more extensive details which we ought to have given upon the subject in the first chapter of the third book. But we shall see that from the first centuries of the republic (some pages further on) the influence which the aristocracy of money, substituted for the sacerdotal aristocracy, exercised upon Roman manners.—Appendix XI.

exercised an equal oppression over both Sabine nobles and plebeian Latins. Thus is the reign of Tarquin the Haughty terminated by the definite expulsion of the Etruscans.¹ Their downfall brought profit only to the Sabines, fortified by the arrival of the Sabine Appius and his five thousand clients.

The sacerdotal and royal Rome of the Etruscan and Latin Pelasgi was without difficulty thrown open to the foreigner. The aristocratic Rome of the republic closed the senate to the plebeians, and the city to the neighbouring populations. The heroic and aristocratic principle prevailed at first against the democratic principle which the sacerdotal had protected; and it was only by incredible efforts that the people secured the equality of rights. They triumphed by the institution of the tribunes, the civil chiefs of the democracy, who continued the kings and prepared the way for the emperors; they triumphed by the admission of the Latins, their brothers by that of the Italians; they triumphed by the establishment of a military chief or emperor, who finished the popular work by the proscription of the aristocracy, and the equality of civil law. The plebeians constituted in Rome the principle of extension, conquest, and aggregation; the patricians that of exclusion, unity, and national individuality. Without the plebeians, Rome could not have conquered and adopted the world; without the patricians, she would have had no personal character, no original life; she would not have been Rome.

¹ The language of Rome is Latin and not Etruscan, which alone suffices to prove that but very few Etruscans settled there. Had their number been greater, religious influence would have given predominance to the sacred language. According to Volumnius, an Etruscan writer (Varro, *de ling. lat.*) the three ancient tribes of Rome were called *Ramnes*, *Queres*, *Tities*. This division corresponds, indeed, with the three greater gods of the Etruscans, and the three sacred gates of their towns; but I am disposed to recognise in these three tribes the companions of the Alban Romulus, those of the Sabine Tatius, and those of the Etruscan Lucumon, who came to Rome as auxiliaries of Romulus, according to some, as conquerors according to others. The *Ramnes* (*quere*, from *Ramnus*, a town of Pelasgo-Ionian Attica) probably came from the Pelasgic town of Alba. "The earlier *Fasti Comulares*," observes Niebuhr, "show that the patrician families came from various nations; Cominius *Auruncus*, Clælius *Siculus*, Licinius *Sabinus*, Aquillius *Tuscus*. Other family names were taken from the names of towns: *Camerinus*, *Misullinus*, &c."

Cicero calls the senate, *omnium terrarum arcem*. All nations were in their turn to climb this rock of the Capitol, where the curie and the senate sit. But the heroical aristocracy which it enclosed, and which defend there the sacred unity of the city, struggled vigorously. Two hundred years elapsed before the Latins could mount it; two hundred years for the Italians (until the social war); three centuries for the nations under the subjection of the empire (until Caracalla and Alexander Severu); two more for the barbarians (410, Rome taken by Alaric).

The first occasion of the combat between the patricians and the plebeians is, not the city, but, as it would appear, the whole world. But the earth herself, the *ager Romanus* measured by the augurs, and limited by the patrician tombs, is a part of the city; or the *ager* is the city more than the city herself. The plebeians are admitted into the city; they inhabit it, they have possessions in it. But to possess the *ager*, it was necessary to have the right of the quirites, the right of the augurs, and arms, a right which belonged to the patricians alone. Thus, the people were not satisfied with the profane lands which were offered them. They preferred, says Livy, to demand lands from Rome than to possess them at Antium. This great quarrel can only be understood by the knowledge of the primitive city, of which the *ager* is a part, and in which the aristocratic city (which the patricians close to the plebeians) has its ideal.

To arrive at a knowledge of this city, which is at once human and divine, we must search two sources, the divine law and the human law, right and religion, *jus et fas*. The Roman religion, such as it is represented by history, has nothing primitive or original; singularly human and politic in its tendency, it seems to be a practical application of the Etruscan and Latin religions to the wants of the state. Rome consults Etruria, but with suspicion (see preceding chap.), and modifies the counsels she receives. The Roman religion appears a Protestantism, compared with the Etruscan religion. It is necessary to study cautiously this religion formed by the city, when the primitive city is in question.

As to the primitive right of Rome, we possess a monu-

ment in the fragments of the twelve tables. These fragments, preserved by the ancients as the source of the law of Rome, have been collected by the moderns, and classed according to the matter, so as to present the image of a code. But, from the first glance, it is easy to perceive that these laws, written in so different a spirit, belong to epochs distant from each other. An attentive examination will discover three elements:—First, the ancient customs of sacerdotal Italy, all stamped with Cyclopean barbarism; then, the code of the heroic aristocracy who ruled the plebeians; and, finally, the charter of liberty which the latter gained for themselves. This last portion can alone be classed under a date and epoch; it alone is properly a law; the two others are usages and customs, written as they threatened to fall into disuse, and it was desired to perpetuate their tradition.

From the ancient law of Italy, as from its religion, a severe criticism can alone separate the modern elements, and reconstruct, in the purity of its primitive architecture, that symbolical city, which lost its form by the aggregation of the populations which gradually entered it. The material element of the city is, doubtless, the family; but the type, the ideal of the family itself, is the city. It is not a question of the natural family which now occupies us; public right here dominates.

The stone of the hearth (*εστια*, *vesta*),¹ the tombstone which bounds the fields,² these are the bases of Italian law; upon them are founded personal right, and that of property, or the agrarian right. The city has its hearth,³

¹ *Istanni stare* (to stand upright), fast (from *stein*, stone).

² The Zens *herkios* of Attica; *herkios*, enclosure; *erascene*, to divide the property among the heirs, when the common enclosure is broken up. See the admirable text of the Salic law, *de chrene chrudâ*. "It is evident," says Niebuhr, "from the Pandects, inscriptions, and ancient documents, that it was not at all unusual for an estate to have a special name, which it retained even when it had passed to another possessor. It was the same in Etruria." See O. Muller, *Cecina*, and Sienlus Flacens, *De conditionibus agrorum*, p. 4.

³ The common hearth, in many ancient states, implied a common table. The *systities* would appear to have been known to the Romans (Dion. Hal. ii. 23; Cicero, *De Orat.* i. 7), and to the Italians in general (Aristot. *Polit.* vii. 9). See also K. D. Hulmann, *Staatsrecht des Alterthums*, who has established a great many coincidences, more or less exact, among the governments of Rome, Greece, and Carthage.

like the family. Around the public hearth are gathered the private ones; personal properties equal among themselves, measured and defined by sacred geometry, are inclosed within the limits of the public territory, and by them separated from the vague and profane territory occupied by the foreigners.

At the domestic hearth sit two divinities, the lar, mute genius of the ancient possessors, the god of the dead, and the father of the family, the actual possessor, the active genius of the house; the living god for his children, his wife, and slaves. This name of father has nothing tender at this epoch, it designates nothing but absolute authority. Thus all the gods, even those of the dead, are invoked under the name of *Fathers*. However numerous the circle around the hearth may be, I see but one person, the father of the family. The ancient genius of the family is a ferocious and solitary genius. The children, the wife, the slaves, are bodies or things, and not persons; they are the property of the father, who can beat them or sell them;¹ the wife is the sister of his sons. As soon as, according to the ancient custom, the point of the lance has separated the hair of the affianced, when she has tasted the sacred cake (*confarreatio*),² or the husband has counted out to the father-in-law the price of the virgin (*coemptio*), they dictate to her the formula (*ubi tu gaius, ego gaia;*) they lift her, and she passes the threshold of the conjugal mansion without touching it with her feet, and falls, according to the strong expression of the law, *in manum viri*. Her husband is her master and her judge. It is not necessary that she should have violated her faith for her husband to put her to death; it is sufficient that she has stolen the keys or drunk the wine. The child is still

¹ The origin of the Roman law is to be found, not in the paternal and maternal authority—an authority naturally deriving from the patriarchal life, but in those civil bonds which are the early modification of those of nature, in agnation, patronage, and the relation of *family* between master and slave; even in the marital and paternal authority, the natural relation is accessory. As to the paternal authority of the Roman citizen, see the dissertations of G. U. Ab Oosten de Bruyn, Ger. Noodt, Corn. Von Pynkershoek, Pierrento, &c.

² See Bethius, in *Top. Cicer. Comment.* ii. 3.—Whatever their origin, it is probable that if the patricians were not all Etruscans, at

more abandoned to its father, without any condition. A child born a monster is destroyed the instant of its birth. The father can sell his son three times; he can put him to death. The son may rise in the city, but he remains the same in his family—tribune, consul, dictator, he may be dragged by his father from the curule chair or the tribune, brought to his house and put to death at the foot of the paternal lares. The consul Spurius Cassius was, they say, judged and executed thus. Even towards the end of the republic, a senator, the accomplice of Catiline, was pursued and put to death by his father.

The civil right which thus rules the family with so much severity, extends its limits far beyond that of nature. By the side of the son were placed the inferior members of the *gens*, his *clientes*, or dependents, (*cliens* from *cluere*, as in German, *hæriger* from *hæren*, to hear,) his *coloni*, (*clientes*, quasi *colentes*;) among whom the father divided his lands in lots of two, of seven acres.¹ These *clients* or *coloni* are of diverse origin. Some, ancient inhabitants of the country, have become, by their defeat, proprietors and farmers; others are poor strangers, freed slaves or fugitives, who have sought a refuge under the lance of the quirite, and who receive from him a small portion of land upon conditions more or less onerous. Thus did the conquerors of Thessaly, the Dorians of Peloponesus, the Mamertin Sabines, who occupied Samnium, (*terra olim attributa particulatim hominibus ut in Samnium sabellis*. Varro.) Finally, the barbarians who

least they claimed to be so; and that the plebeians, adversaries of the patricians, and the *clientes*, as they gradually separated from their patrons, were all, or represented themselves to be, Latins. The patricians (Scrader, *de Just. et jure*, i. 7) followed the Etruscan law, the plebeians the Latin law; hence the so many double institutions, such as, *dominus esse*, for the Latin, *in bonis habere*, for the Etruscan; marriage *in manus*, for the Etruscan, a free marriage with the Latin. After the twelve tables there was one sole civil law. The *confarreatio* seems to have been the marriage of the sacerdotal tribes, the *coemptio* that of the heroic tribes. The consent demanded from the wife in the *coemptio* must have been a modification from former times.—See Brissot, *De Nuptiis*. *Gaia* means the cow or the cultivable land.—Pliny, xiv. 13.

¹ Liv. V. 30; Val. Max. iv. 3, 5.—The possessions of Cincinnatus, Curius Dentatus, Fabricius, Regulus, &c. did not exceed this quantity.

invaded the empire. The latter, like the Romans with the Hernici, contented themselves with a third of the conquered land.

The obligations of the clients to the patrons are not without analogy with those of the vassals to the feudal lords. They were to aid in the redemption of the captive patron, to contribute to the marriage portion of his daughter, &c. I have marked elsewhere the enormous moral difference which separated clientage from vassalage.¹

Wife, sons, children, clients, slaves, do not exist as persons either in the family or in the city. There is but one name for them all, that of the *gens*, represented by its chief. They are all called Claudii, Corneli, Fabii.² This name is not a proper name but for the chief; to him only is the land, and the land is called *nomen*, as in the middle ages; *terra*, in Italian, signified, on the contrary, a seigneurie or fortress.

The father only has the *jus quiritium*, the right of the lance and of the sacrifice. To him who has the lance and the sacrifice, is also the land; this right is imprescrip-

¹ Dionysius compares the clients to the Thessalian *penestes*. Among the Greeks, every private citizen was obliged to select a citizen of higher position as his guardian, *προστατης* (*mundherr*, in the language of the middle ages), under penalty of being placed out of the pale of the law in even the most ordinary civil relations.

² In Blackstone's Comment. *sub verb.* It would appear from Livy (xxxix. 19), that it was forbidden to freedmen to marry out of the *gens*. Adam (*Rom. Antiq.*) extends this prohibition to all citizens. Niebuhr is of opinion that the patron inherited the client's property. According to him, it is absurd to suppose that the plebeians were originally clients of the patricians. The clients only became reunited with the *plebs*, in proportion as their servitude was relaxed, partly by the general progress towards liberty, partly by the extinction or decay of their patrons. Before Servius, the plebeians, transported, for the most part, from the conquered countries to Rome, were free citizens, but had no suffrage (there were no assemblies but those of the *curiæ*), and were not permitted to ally themselves in marriage with the patricians. The nobles of the conquered cities, the Mamili, the Popii, the Clnii, the Cecinae, were all plebeians. What confirms this origin of the plebeians, is the tradition that Ancus established the Latins of the destroyed cities upon the Aventine hill, which afterwards became the seat of what may be especially called the plebeian city. It is probable, however, that the majority of these new citizens remained on their own farms and cultivated them. Appendix X.

tible. The right of heritage, and the right over the goods of the enemy, enter equally into the *jus quiritorium*, insolent definition; it is the right to occupy by the hand, by force, *mancipatio*. And when it is necessary to give testimony before the public council, of the lands, and living or inanimate things he possesses, it is lance in hand the *quirite* presents himself, symbolizing and sustaining his right by his arms. There is no will in this primitive form of the city; the land *quirite* passes with the lance from father to son, necessary and fatal succession; if the father wishes to dispose of it otherwise, he can only do so through the council of the *curie*. The *curie* which answers for its members as the German hundred, and which, in default of heirs, has their goods, can only authorize a deviation founded upon the will of the individual.

This father of a family, this *nomen*, this *quirital* person, identified with the land and the lance, sits alone, we have already seen, at the domestic hearth; around, wife, sons, children, clients, slaves, have their eyes fixed upon him. He only has the *sacra privata*, to which is communicated the force of the *sacra publica*.¹ Let the father say to one or the other, *sacer esto*, he will die; the father has the altar and the lance; he speaks in the name of the gods, and the name of power. As the gods, he explains himself by signs, by symbols; the movement of his head has great power, it puts all in motion. In the city, in the family, the same silence; it is by a feigned sale he emancipates his son, by a feigned combat he disputes a possession; if he depart from this mute language, if he speak, his word is irrevocable. In this sacred language, all the rights are of the gods; *lar* is the property of the house; *dii hospitales*, hospitality; *dii penates*, the paternal power; *deus genius*, the right of marriage; *deus terminus*, the territorial domain; *dii manes*, the tomb. But the more the material word is sacred, the less it admits of explanation or interpretation; the letter, and the letter only is what is regarded; it hates and rejects the spirit.* Thus the Romans believed they had power to destroy Carthage, because in the treaty they had promised to respect, not *urbem*

¹ Appendix XI.

but *civitatem*. The violation of the treaty of the Caudine forks offers again a striking example of this superstition, of the letter without regard to the spirit. The word of the father, the law of the family, that of the fathers united who make the law for the city, have equally the numerous form, the rhythmical precision of oracles. The city itself, which is the law materialized, is nothing but rhythm and number; the numbers three, twelve, ten, and their multiples, are the base of all their political divisions. Three tribes, thirty curies, three hundred senators, thirty Latin towns, &c.¹

In the severe form, in the rhythmic precision of the city, we find the exclusion, the hatred of every strange element which comes to alter the proportions. It is thus that the legislators of Greece, followed by Aristotle and Plato, taught the means to retain the city in the strict dimensions which are reconcilable with number and harmony. In Rome, made to aggrandize itself, these precepts of narrow wisdom were not followed; the *gentes* extended themselves by the labourers who could not cultivate their grounds in the hostile neighbourhood of Rome, and demanded the safeguard of one of the Roman chiefs, and declared themselves his clients; often again it happened that strangers, driven from their country, came into the victorious city to place themselves under the protection of some powerful family; these often bringing with them a great number of clients and slaves, found themselves more rich and distinguished than their patrons; nevertheless, as the conquered, they lost their gods and their augural rights. Now, all right being in religion, depended on the augurs. The Sabine or Etruscan patrician, alone invested with the augural character, had alone the public and private right. His word was law, the law of a barbarian cyclopean. *Adversus hostem æterna auctoritas esto*, the eternal right to claim as against the enemy. *Hostis*, enemy, is synonymous with *hospes*, stranger; and the plebeian is a stranger in the city. Against the patrician, the minister of the gods, himself a god in his family and in the city, there is no action (*nulla auctoritas*). He cannot be

¹ Appendix XII.

punished, and should he commit a fault, the curie can alone declare that he has done wrong, *improbe factum*.

Under the kings the illustrious plebeians entered the patrician order, and were admitted to the divine and human rights, which assured to them their liberty and property. The poor plebeians were employed in the prodigious constructions to which the Etruscan lucumons kept the lower classes. They suffered and complained; they aided to overthrow the patrician priesthood of the Etruscans, and then found themselves without resources, and without protection against the warrior patricians who remained.

Two cries arose from the people against the patricians, from the beginning of the republic. The plebeians claimed, some their rights, the others bread; all rights were comprised in a single word, *ager Romanus*. He who had a share in this sacred ground, limited by the augurs of the tombs, was a patrician. The word *ager* has confounded those two demands, so different in their motives and their results. The most necessitous plebeians gave way, accepted the profaned lands; they formed colonies, and spread afar the power of Rome. The others remained; they obtained part of the sacred *ager*, or at least the right of the *ager*, and founded the liberty of the plebeians.

The creation of two annual kings, called consuls, the re-establishment of assemblies by centuries, where riches had the advantage over nobility, the laws of the consul Valerius Publicola, who lowered the *fascēs* before the assembly, and permitted them to kill whomsoever wished to make himself king, all these political changes did not ameliorate the condition of the poor plebeian. The right of appeal established by Valerius was a privilege of the patricians, as were all the other rights.

Let those who despise industry, and who, nourished and clothed by her, enjoy her benefits and blaspheme her, let those read history, that they may see the lot of humanity in the time of the ancients. Industry is the conquest of physical nature for satisfying the wants of man; that is its direct end, but its indirect benefits are still greater. It elevates, little by little, men to ease and riches, brings them gradually nearer to equality, recon-

ciles the poor to the rich, and leaves to the first the hope of one day sitting on his own land, of resting himself and taking breath.

It was not so in the ancient cities. The rich had no need of the poor, their slaves worked for them. The poor and rich, inclosed within the same city, face to face with each other, and separated by an eternal barrier, hated each other. The rich only secured his riches by acquiring more, and overwhelming the poor.

The poor not being able to free themselves from their misery, dreamed always of laws of blood and spoliation. Such is the picture of the Greek cities; the alternate victory of the rich and poor is all their history; at each revolution, a part of the population fled or perished, as in the hideous history of Coreyra, related by Thueydides.

Let us see what was the situation of the plebeians at Rome. The census of the consul Valerius Publicola gave a hundred and thirty thousand men capable of bearing arms, which would suppose a population of more than six hundred thousand souls, without counting the freedmen and slaves. It was necessary that this multitude should draw their subsistence from their territory of thirteen square leagues. No other industry than agriculture existed; surrounded by enemies, the land was exposed to continual ravages, and the booty gained in war did not compensate them. War deprives the conquered of more than it gives to the conqueror; the grains of wheat that the peasant took did not compensate him for his ruined cottage, his plough, his cattle taken the preceding year by the Equians or the Sabines.

When he returned to Rome a conqueror and ruined, and his children surrounded him crying for bread, he paid the patrician or rich plebeian a visit, asking to borrow till the next campaign, promising to raise sufficient from the Volseians or Etruseans to pay his debt, and mortgaging his first victory. This guarantee was not enough; he must pledge his little field, and the patrician helped him, stipulating for the enormous interest of twelve per cent. Since the institution of assemblies by centuries, political power having passed from the noble to the rich, the natural avarice of the Romans was stimulated by am-

bition, and usury was the only means of satisfying this avarice. The value of the field was soon absorbed by the accumulated interest; the person of the plebeian was answerable for his debt; when one says the person of the father of a family, one means his entire family, for his wife, his children, are only his members. He could vote at the Forum, fight with the army, but he was not the less "nexus," bound; the arm which struck the enemy felt already the chain of the creditor. The terrible *diminutio capitis* was imminent. The unfortunate man went and came, but he was already dead. At last the fatal period arrived; it was necessary to pay. The campaign had not been fortunate. The army returned to Rome. What will become of the plebeian? The twelve tables give the reply; they only adopted former usage. Listen to the terrible song of the law (*lex horrendi carminis erat*):

"Let him be summoned; if he does not appear, take witnesses, arrest him; if he hesitates, lay hands on him; if age or sickness hinder him from appearing, furnish a horse but not a carriage." What! the unfortunate man has returned wounded to Rome, his blood shed for his country; he is thrown dying upon a horse: no matter, he must go. He presents himself at the tribunal with his wife by his side and his weeping children.

"Let the rich answer for the rich; for the labourer, who will. The debt acknowledged, the affair adjudicated, thirty days delay. Then, hands may be laid on him that he may be taken before the judge. At sunset, the tribunal closes." The destiny of the plebeian and of all his family will be decided between the afternoon and evening. "If he do not satisfy the judgment, if no one answers for him, the creditor shall take him away and attach him with cords or with chains, which shall weigh fifteen pounds, less than fifteen pounds if the creditor like. Let the prisoner live on his means. If he have none, he is to have a pound of flour, or more, at the will of the creditor." Thanks be given to the humanity of the law: it permits the creditor to lighten the chain and augment the nourishment; it allows other things in not denying them, the whip, and the dampness of a dark prison, and the torture of a long immobility. I prefer to stop in the

horror of this dungeon, than to seek to know what has become of the family of the poor unfortunate, slaves like himself: happy if, by a prudent emancipation, he has been able to preserve in time his children. If not, their father can, from the obscure *ergastulum* where he is confined, hear their cries under the lash, or perhaps, in the midst of the last outrages, calling him to their help.

“If he does not arrange, detain him in custody sixty days; however, he is to be brought into court three market days, and there proclaim the amount of his debt.” Alas, when the unfortunate goes forth from the torments of the jail, to suffer public infamy, he will not find any one to rescue him from these cruel hands. “On the third market day, if there are many creditors, they may cut him in pieces; should they cut more or less they are not responsible. If they wish they can sell him to strangers beyond the Tiber.” So in Shakespere, the Jew Shylock stipulates, in case of non-payment, a pound of flesh to be taken from the body of his debtor.

It is not astonishing, if there is a great tumult, when one sees, for the first time, a poor old man advance, clothed in rags, pale, and wasted as a corpse, his hair and beard long, shaggy as a wild beast, and one recognises in this frightful figure a brave soldier, whose breast is covered with scars. He tells you that, in the war with the Sabines, his house had been burnt, his flocks carried away; the taxes falling at an unfortunate time, from that arose his debts; and usury upon usury, having, as a devouring cancer, devoured all he had, the evil finished by seizing his body. He had been carried away by a creditor, by an executioner; his back is still bleeding with the stripes of the whip. A cry of indignation rises; the debtors, and those who have no other interest than that of pity, rescue him. The senators, who are there, narrowly escape being torn in pieces. Their houses are full of captives, taken there in troops, (*gregatim adducebantur*, Livy.)

The consuls then were an Appius and a Servilius, names expressive of chief of the aristocracy, and of partisan of the people, (Servius, Servilius à Servo.) This last part belongs to many individuals, to Valerius, to

Menenius, to Spurius Cassius, Spurius Melius, Mecilius, Metilius, Manlius. The favourites of the people appear an instant, and then give place to others.¹

Neither the violence of Appius, nor the condescension of Servilius, or of Valerius, who was created dictator the year following, would appease the plebeians. The Volsci approached, to profit by the troubles. Twice the same danger obliged the senate to order the debtors to be freed. The plebeians conquered sooner than the senate wished; but they were kept under arms. Engaged by their oaths, these religious men had the idea of delivering themselves by killing the consuls, to whom they had sworn obedience.

They then carried off the eagles, and retired to the sacred mount, or to the Aventine. There they fortified themselves, remained quiet, taking from around Rome only the things necessary for their sustenance. National tradition has been pleased to adorn the cradle of liberty with this moderation.

They who are acquainted with the Roman race, who have found this sombre population in Rome and upon the neighbouring mountains, stormy as their climate, which ever breeds violence and frenzy, will appreciate the recital of Livy.

The army could at any moment descend into the town, where the plebeians would have received it. The enemy could in six hours arrive from the country of the Equi or the Hernici. The patricians sent to the people the man who was most agreeable to them—Menenius Agrippa. He addressed to them the celebrated fable of the Belly and the Members, a true cyclopean fragment of the ancient symbolical language.² The messenger met with little success. The plebeians demanded a treaty between the plebeians and the patricians, between persons and things. “This word alone,” says a great poet,³ “threw the fable of Menenius back a century.”

¹ “Saginare plebem populares suos, quos jugulat,” says Livy, in reference to Manlius.

² Several other examples of these political fables have come down to us: *The stag and the horse*, of Stesichorus; the fox, the hedgehog, and the flies, of Æsop; *the dog given up by the sheep*, of Demosthenes.

³ M. Ballanche.

They refused to re-enter Rome if they were not allowed to elect from among themselves tribunes, who would protect them. The two first were Junius Brutus and Sicinius Bellutus, (*à ballua*, doubtless synonymous with Brutus.) The power and attributes of these magistrates of the people were at first humble. Seated at the door of the senate, they listened to the deliberations, without being able to take any part in them. They had no active function. All their power was in a word, *Veto*—"I oppose it." With this single word they stopped everything. The tribune was but the organ, the negative voice of liberty; but this voice was holy and sacred.

Whosoever laid his hand upon a tribune, was devoted to the gods—*sacer esto*. It is from this feeble commencement that this magistrature took its rise, which was to imprison consuls and dictators, descending from their tribunal. The poor had more than he sought. Mute till then, he acquired that which distinguishes man—voice; and the virtue of this voice gave him all the rest.

CHAPTER III.

Continuation of the former—First wars—Agrarian law; Colonies—The XII. Tables—Veii taken by the Romans—Rome taken by the Gauls.

IT is in the obscurity of the first wars of the republic that the noble families of Rome have conveniently placed the high deeds of their ancestors. We shall see, as we advance, that the heroes of this history, written first by the Greeks, are precisely the ancestors of those Roman consuls and prætors who first had any connexion with the Greeks. For this, and many other reasons, it is impossible seriously to reproduce the insipid romance of these first wars. We postpone it to the epoch at which it was composed. We shall then present, under their true light, the exile of Coriolanus, and that of Quintius Cæso, the great battle of Veii, and the devotion of the three hundred Fabii, the exploits of Cincinnatus, &c.

We will seek to free the history from this cold poetry, so lifeless and destitute of inspiration.

To the west of Rome were the Sabines, the ancestors of part of its population, poor and warlike mountaineers, from whom little was to be gained. The wars they carried on, on this side, must have been defensive. Other mountaineers, the Hernici (*Hernæ*, rocks) were for the most part united with the Romans against the rich inhabitants of the plains, at whose expense they both lived. These were the Volsci to the south of Rome, the Veians to the north, two commercial and industrious nations. Ardea and Antium, the principal cities of the Volsci, were early enriched by maritime commerce. The pictures with which the first was ornamented were highly praised.¹ At the sacking of Pometia, Tarquin the Elder found, they say, sufficient to give five minæ to each of his soldiers, and the tenth of the booty amounted to fifty talents. What retarded the ruin of the Volsci was, that they had in the mountains, between the Hernici and the Romans, some faithful allies, the Equians, who seemed to have been confounded with them. Latium was thus divided into two leagues, that of the *Volsci-Equi*, and that of the *Latini et Hernici*. The Romans united the second to themselves,² exterminated the first, and the name of Latium, which from the earliest period was, perhaps, peculiar to the environs of Rome and mount Albanus, the centre of the Latin religions, extended to the frontiers of Campagna. There is a tradition which says that the good Latin and plebeian king, Servius Tullus, had formerly founded a temple to Diana, upon the Aventine, for the reception of the deputies from Rome, and from the thirty Latin towns.³ The Tarquinians had, during their domination at Rome, instituted a common sacrifice to Jupiter Latialis upon Mount Albanus. They also united the Latins and Romans under the same *manipuli*. The common interests of the two states were regulated by their deputies, who met at the fountain of Ferentinum, (*Festus, verbo, prætor, ad portam,*) until the consulate of

¹ We find in Livy. a plebeian of Rome called Volscius Pictor, or Fictor, i. e. the painter or potter, son of the Volscian. Nicolai, in his work on the Pontine marshes, has collected together the most important texts for the history of the Volscians.

² Appendix XIII.

³ Appendix XIV.

Manlius and P. Decius, an epoch at which the liberties of Latium perished. These assemblies of the thirty towns were called the Latin *feriæ*; as the thirty curies of Rome, they preserved only a pale reflection of their first destination. The auspices always followed the sovereignty; it ended in their being taken to the Capitol in the name of the Latin nation; the Roman prætor was saluted at the door of the temple.

The slow conquest of Latium occupied the people two centuries without ameliorating their condition. As the sacerdotal patriciate of the Tarquinians had always employed the people in building, so the heroic patriciate of the first ages of the republic consumed the strength of the plebeians in an eternal war. Did they make a claim, they were offered the distant lands which war took from the conquered, and which remained exposed to their vengeance, and the chances of their return. This was not what they asked; what they envied the patricians was the possession of those fortunate lands which were protected by the neighbourhood of Rome, and which, by their sacred limits, assured the augural right, the foundation of all other rights. This sacred field was greatly circumscribed.¹ According to Strabo, a place was to be seen called Festi, at five or six miles from Rome. This was the ancient limit of the primitive territory. The priests in this place, as in many others, performed the ceremony of the *Ambarvalia*.

This territory was afterwards greatly enlarged, but during a long time it did not extend on the Latin side beyond Tibur, Gabii,¹ Lanuvrum, Tusculum, Andea, and Ostia; on the Sabine side, it joined Fidenæ, Antennæ, Collatia. Beyond the Tiber, it bounded Cære and Veii. When the consuls ordered the Latins to leave Rome, they forbade them to approach within less than five miles of the city. The frontier was at this distance.

It is probable that, under the vague title of *agrarian* law,¹ two very different propositions have been confounded; first, that of permitting the plebeians to share the sacred territory of primitive Rome, to the possession of which all the rights of the city belonged. Second: that

¹ Appendix XV.

of sharing equally the lands conquered by the people, and usurped by the patricians.¹ This second species of agrarian law analogous to that of the Gracchi, would easily have caused the other to be forgotten, when the ancient symbolical character of the city and the *ager* began to be effaced.

The authors of the agrarian laws present themselves at different epochs, but under identical names, which makes us to question their individuality—Spurius Cassius, Spurius Melius, Spurius Mecilius, Spurius Metilius, finally Manlius² (*Mallius, Mellius, Melius*).

The senate would, doubtless, have been overpowered in this violent struggle; they would have yielded up the city as did the senate of Berne recently, if they had not succeeded in diverting the thoughts of the people, by presenting them with an image of Rome, which consoled them for what they refused them. The Roman colony, they said, shall be identical with the metropolis;³ nothing be wanting at the first glance. The augur and the *agrimensor*⁴ will follow the emigrating legion; will measure the fields, according to the sacred rule, will describe the outline and legitimate spaces; will overthrow the limits and tombs of the ancient possessors; and if the territory of

¹ The dates are different (486, 437, 382), but the events are not so. Spurius Cassius is a patrician: Spurius Melius a rich knight, with many clients. Both are accused of having aspired to royalty. Spurius Cassius would have the lands conquered by the people and usurped by the patricians, divided among the poor plebeians; and more, that they should distribute among them two-thirds of the land which he himself had taken from the Hernici. But these lands were too considerable for the Romans; he demands that half should be given to the allies of the Latins. Spurius Melius, not being consul, cannot propose any law; but he distributes much wheat to the people. Manlius demands, like Cassius, the division of the land, and, like Melius, he relieves the poor plebeians from his own purse. In the harangues in Livy, he would appear favourable to the allies: *Quos falsis criminibus in arma agunthis*, is another resemblance to Spurius Cassius. On the contrary, the senate treats the Latini and the Hernici with severity. If their actions are alike, their punishments are also similar.

² All these names are identical. *Spurius*, bastard, must have been a peculiarly insulting term under the strictness of the patrician system. Cassius (*Cassus*?) and Melius (*Meleus*?) may have been the same word, the one in Latin, the other in Greek; feeble, impotent, useless.

³ Appendix XVII.

⁴ Appendix XVIII.

the vanquished is not sufficient, they will take some from each side.

Mantua vae mis eræ nimium vicina Cremonæ.

The new Rome shall have her consuls in the duumvirs; her censors in the quinquennials; her prætors in the decurions. They shall regulate the affairs of the district; watch over the weights and measures, raise troops for Rome. They must content themselves with this vain image of power; the sovereignty, the right of peace and war, belong to the metropolis; the colonies are for her a nursery of soldiers; here appears the opposition of the Roman and Greek worlds. In the latter, the colony becomes independent of its metropolis, as the son of his father, when it is strong enough to do without her aid. In spite of the ties of blood and community of sacrifice, the Greek cities are politically strangers to each other; Greek colonization presents an image of dispersion; that of Rome is an extension of the metropolis.

The Roman colony not only remains dependent on its mother, but it sees itself every day equalled by her children of adoption under the name of *Municipia*; colonies and municipia; those with more glory, these with more independence, are embraced and contained in the ample unity of the city. In the city alone is the sovereign authority. This great political family reproduces the individual family. Rome occupied the place of the *paterfamilias*—a father inflexible and severe, who adopts, but does not emancipate.

Thus all those plebeians whom famine did not drive from Rome, refused this *right* of exile, decorated with the name of colony.¹ They preferred, said Livy, asking land from Rome to possessing it at Antium. They would rather at any price retain the enjoyment of their beautiful city, their forum, their temples, the tombs of their fathers; they attached themselves to the soil of their country, and, without dispossessing the proprietors of the *ager*, they obtained all the rights attached to the possession of the sacred field.

¹ Appendix XIX.

First, their tribunes introduced, beside the assemblies by centuries, the comitia by tribes, presided over by them, and independent of the augurs. It is said that the first use made of these assemblies was to drive away their haughty adversary, the patrician Coriolanus. This essay having succeeded, the tribunes frequently brought before the people, at once judge and party, those who opposed the agrarian laws. Titus Menenius, and Spurius Servilius, the consuls Furius and Manlius, were successively accused. The peril of the two latter tried the patricians to the utmost, and, the eve of the day on which the tribune Genucius was to challenge their judgment, he was found dead in his bed.

The plebeians, stupified by this event, were giving way, and were about to allow themselves to be led from Rome to commence a new war, when a plebeian named Volero¹ dared to refuse to sign his name, and to repulse the lictor. The people seconded him, drove away the consuls from the place, and named Volero and Lætorius, the most powerful and valiant of the people, tribunes. This character is common to the popular chiefs of Rome. It is found in that Siccus Dentatus who, according to Pliny, could hardly count the military recompences, arms of honour, collars and crowns, which he had merited by his courage. The valiant Lætorius was no orator: "Romans," said he, "I know not how to speak, but what I have once said I know how to perform. Assemble here to-morrow; I will have the law passed, or die in its defence."

Volero and Lætorius did not, however, have recourse to brute force, as it had been feared they would. They demanded and obtained that the assemblies by tribes should nominate the tribunes, and make laws. The first which they proposed, the agrarian law, was rejected through the firmness of Appius. It cost him his life. The army which he commanded allowed themselves to be defeated, and to be afterwards tranquilly decimated, content with having, at this price, dishonoured their chief. On his return to Rome, he escaped condemnation only by starving himself to death. The tribunes would have prevented his funeral

¹ Appendix XX.

oration; the people were more magnanimous towards an enemy whom they no longer feared.

The plebeians, despairing ever to obtain the sacred lands, contented themselves with claiming the rights which were attached to them. The tribune Terentillus Arsa (*Arsa*, firebrand, from *ardere*?) demanded an uniform law, a written code, in the name of the people. The right was at length to emerge from the mystery with which the patricians endeavoured to envelop it. So long as the people were not persons, they were, so to speak, out of court. But, from the time they had their assemblies by tribes, there was contradiction in the situation of the people. Legislators in the forum, and judges of the patrician in their assemblies, the slightest affair brought them before the tribunal of the haughty man, whom they had offended by their votes, and who often revenged himself, as a judge, for the defeat which he had suffered as a senator. Sovereigns in the public place, in the tribunals they were not even looked upon as men. The struggle lasted ten years.

Before allowing the people to penetrate into the sanctuary of right, in the political city, the patricians endeavoured to satisfy them by bestowing upon them part of the lands around Rome.

In the midst of the district limited and measured by the augurs, they had always reserved some vague territory for pasturage. Such was the Aventine, a hill at that time comprised within the town, but beyond the pomerium, the private and sacred inclosure, and which was not inclosed until under the emperor Claudius. The law passed in an assembly of centuries, and was, as a law, placed in the temple of Diana. The plebeians then commenced building; this profane town did not present the distinction of the hearth, which consecrated and isolated the family; several united to build one house. But the people were not satisfied with having a place in the town, they wanted one in the city. They decided that ten patricians (*decemviri*)¹, invested with all the power, should draw up and write the laws. According to the common tradition, less impro-

¹ Appendix XXI.

bable than has been imagined, they sent to Greece,¹ and especially to Athens, to inquire the laws of the country. The relations between Greece and Italy were not unfrequent at that time. A nation so near the cities of Sicily and Magna Græcia must necessarily have looked upon Greece as the classical land of liberty. Perhaps, also, the Pelasgic origin of the plebeians, who believed themselves to have come from Alba and Lavinium, made them wish to re-light their Vesta at the only Pelasgic hearth which then remained upon the earth—the *pristinatis Hestia* of the city of Athens. These laws, they say, were interpreted by the Greek Hermodorus of the Ionian town of Ephesus. It is well known that the Ionians were united to the Pelasgi by a common origin. (449 before J. C.)

The new decemvirs, who were created the following year to complete this legislation, were partly plebeians. The patrician Appius, who had preserved his place in the decemvirate, ruled his colleagues without difficulty, and became the tyrant of Rome. He irritated the army by assassinating the valiant Siccus Dentatus, who spoke as boldly as he fought. However, the people did not yet take up arms; they were driven to it, by the attempt made by Appius to outrage a plebeian virgin. According to the tradition, the decemvir stationed one of his clients to reclaim her as his slave; and, in defiance of his own laws, he adjudged her, provisionally, to her pretended master. The father of the virgin saved her honour by stabbing her with his own hand. Thus the plebeians had their Lucretia, and she also brought liberty to her country. This admirable tragedy should be read in Livy, it little matters whether it be history.

That which centuries of warfare could not gain for the people they obtained by the demagogic despotism of Appius. Popular liberty was founded by a tyrant; the twelve tables² completed by him, form the charter torn from the patricians by plebeian force.

1. Part of the fragments which we possess are evidently guarantees against the patricians. 2. The others are destined to introduce a rival right, beside or in the

¹ Appendix XXII.

² Appendix XXIII.

place of the ancient aristocratic right. 3. Some of them betray the last effort of the conquered party in favour of the past, and the childish jealousy inspired in it by the rising riches and luxury of the plebeians.

1. The first of the guarantees is the immutable character of the laws; that which the people (*populus*) have last decided is the fixed right and justice.

The second guarantee is the generality of the law, its indifference to individuals; until then it excepted persons, distinguished man from man, and chose, *legebat*, (*lex à legendo?*) No more privileges.

But these guarantees may be eluded by the powerful: if the patron manœuvre to injure his client, his head must be sacrificed, *patronus si clienti fraudem fecerit, sacer esto*. The word *fraus* comprises the divers cases which are afterwards provided for in the law. The man of power, surrounded by his clients, friends, relations, and slaves, can strike an isolated man, may break one of his limbs, but he cannot do it with impunity; he must pay twenty-five pounds of brass, and if he does not arrange matters with the wounded man, he shall be subject to the *lex talionis*.

He can still employ against him the dangerous arm of law, which will not for some time be in the hands of the plebeians. He can claim the plebeian as a slave, bribe witnesses, and provisionally confine him in the *ergastulum*, and can cause him to undergo, while awaiting a tardy judgment, every affront and every torment of slavery. Nothing is more uncertain than personal liberty in antiquity. In the midst of so many petty states, the frontiers of which were at the gates of the city, men could not change their place without risking the being reclaimed as slaves, seized, sold, and lost for ever. Man was then the principal merchandise in which men trafficked. In our colonies, the white skin does at least assure the liberty of a man. But there was here no difference. Thus a crowd of ancient comedies turned upon state questions; it is always the question whether a person is born free or a slave; the twelve tables provisionally assure liberty. It was for having violated his own law with regard to Virginia that Appius was overthrown.

If the patrician could not succeed in securing his enemy, he had other ways of destroying him. He accused him of a capital offence; the patrician *questor* (*quærere*, to inform) believed the illustrious accuser on his word. The law decides that the "parricidium," and this word comprised all capital crimes, can only be tried by the people in the comitia of the centuries. The suborned judge is punished with death; the false witness is precipitated from the Tarpeian rock. Reflect, that one of the principal duties of the client was to "assist" his patron in justice as in war. Each patrician appeared surrounded by his *gens*, ready to swear for him, as in the Burgundian law, where so much stress is laid upon relationship and friendship, that in some cases they demand the oath from seventy-two individuals.

The patrician has still the means of injuring the plebeian. He can ruin him by usury; he can deprive him of a slave by wounding the latter, and rendering him incapable of work. He can promise to the plebeian the all-powerful aid of his testimony; preside as a *Libripens* at a contract, and on the day named refuse to attest what he has seen and sanctioned by his presence. The law extends to and punishes all these offences. The usurer is condemned to restore quadruple; he who breaks the jaw of a slave shall pay a hundred and fifty *as*; finally, the libripens who refuses to attest the validity of a contract, is declared "improbis intestabilisque," two words, whose particular signification cannot be expressed in another language.

As priests, the patricians exercised other vexations over the people, analogous to the royal right of *purveyance* in the middle ages. Under pretext of sacrifices, they took the finest ram, the best bull from the plebeian. The law allows a pledge to be taken from him who seizes a victim without paying for it. It gives a right of pursuit against him who does not pay the hire of a beast lent to furnish the expense of a sacrifice. It forbids, under pain of double restitution, to consecrate to the gods any object in litigation.

2. Until now, the plebeian has acted in self-defence; for the future, he will attack. Beside the ancient Cyclopean right of the aristocratic family, he raises the standard of

the free family. As soon as the first is not alone, it becomes nothing.

For a wife to fall into the hand of a man, the young Etruscan Casmillus, the *cumerum*, the cake, the *as* offered to the lares, are no longer necessary, as in the *confarreatio*; nor the balance and the brass, which in the *coemptio* yielded the bride by a sale. *Consent and enjoyment*, possession for a year, will suffice, and soon three nights will be enough, (*trinoctium usurpatio*.) Soon the wife will no longer be dependent on the man unless by a kind of tutelage; the free marriage of Athens will reappear. The ancient unity will be destroyed. The married couple will be two.

The son escapes from the father, like the wife; three simulated sales free him. The form of being freed is hard, it is true; it is only obtained by averring slavery, but nevertheless it is freedom. The son, become a person, from a thing which he was, is in his turn father of a family, at least he is only bound to the father by a union analogous to patronage. Gradually they cease to know each other. The time will come when the son, emancipated not really by his father, but by his entry into the legions, thinks that he no longer owes him anything, and the law will be obliged to remind him, that *the soldier is still bound to his father by the ties of piety*. From the moment in which the son escapes from the power of the father, he is no longer his necessary heir. He inherited, not on account of blood, but because of the paternal authority over him; not as a son, but as *suus*. Human liberty entered with the twelve tables into the law of succession; it declares war against the family in the name of the individual. "What the father decides upon as to his property or his goods, will be right;" until then, a will had taken place only by adoption, as has been recently proved in so ingenious a manner. It had the character of a law of the curies; the curies, who probably answered for their members, could alone authorize an adoption which deprived them of the reversion of the property.

Thus property, until then fixed in the family, became

moveable at the will of individual liberty, which disposes of successions. It is easily removed, and easily fixed; "for land the prescription is two years; one year for personal goods." The plebeian, newly become rich, is impatient to consecrate an uncertain possession.

3. The patricians, however, will not allow their ancient right to be taken from them without protesting and defending themselves.

They at first endeavoured to maintain themselves isolated within the people, and as a separate race. "No marriages will be allowed between the patrician and plebeian families." Outrageous and superfluous prohibition, which only shows that the moment of union is not distant, and that they would retard it if possible.

Penalty of death against nocturnal assemblies. Penalty of death on those who compose or sing defamatory verses. These precautions of an uneasy and tyrannical government prove that the critical genius was aroused in the sacerdotal silence of the patrician city, that men already began to sing about the patricians. Then came sumptuary laws, evidently inspired by the envy excited by the opulence and rising luxury of the inferior orders. These laws do not regard the patricians; pontiffs and augurs, invested with the right of representations, they displayed the greatest splendour in public and private sacrifices, in festivals, and funeral pomps.

"Do not fashion the butcher with the axe. For the funerals there must be three mourning robes, three purple fillets, ten flute-players. Do not collect the ashes of a dead man, to bury them afterwards." This, says Cicero, did not apply to the citizen who expired on the field of battle, or in a foreign land. No one could be buried or burnt within the walls of Rome. This law regarded the sacred *pomœrium*, which could contain nothing but the purest things. Then tombs were inalienable property, and it was feared, that in placing them in the town, the urban property might assume an inviolable character.

"No crown for the deceased, unless it has been gained by his virtue or his money." The first were the civic or obsidional crowns; the others, crowns obtained in the

games by the horses of a wealthy man. We here recognise the Greek customs, and their admiration of Olympic victories. This is what gained for Alcibiades the favour of Athens. This law, imbued with the Hellenic spirit, may have been recent. "Do not make many funerals for one corpse; no gold to be placed on a corpse; if, however, he has his teeth fastened with gold, you must not tear it from him."

In this charter of liberty, taken by the plebeians from the patricians, the original duality of the Roman people appeared for the first time legally; Remus, who had been so long dead, is revived; the sombre Aventine, until then profane and swept by storms, looks upon the proud Palatine with the eyes of equality. Of the two myrtles planted by Romulus, the plebeian myrtle flourished, the patrician myrtle will soon wither. This duality, the symbol of which is the double Janus represented upon the Roman coins, is characterized, in the general division of law, by the distinction of the *jus civile* and *jus gentium*; it is reproduced in marriage, (*conventio in manum* and free marriage,) in paternal authority, (the *suus*, and the freed man,) and finally, in the right of property, (*res Mancipi*, *res nec Mancipi*.)

Although the plebeians had entered upon equality *de jure*, that *de facto* was long denied them. It was necessary that they should first penetrate the ancient mystery of judicial formula¹—a mystery which arises from the want of force in the word, which expressed itself, at first, but in a figurative and concrete manner, afterwards designedly retained as the last rampart which remains to the aristocracy. The plebeian can, then, only employ his right against the patrician through the medium of the patrician. If he would plead, he must go in the morning to salute and consult the Quintius or Fabius who sits in the *atrium*, in the midst of his clients, who remain standing. He must learn from him the precise form by which, before the judge, he must seize and secure his adversary—the sacred pantomime by which judicial war was carried on according to the rites. Beware! *cavere*, is the motto of

¹ Appendix XXIV.

the jurisconsult. The patrician alone can form the docile and trembling plebeian to this warfare.

Perhaps the latter will grow hardy with time. Perhaps a plebeian, secretary to the patrician, will unravel, and publicly unfold to the eyes of the people, their secret formulas. Then every man will come upon the public place to spell over these mysterious tablets; he will engrave them on his memory, will have them written, will carry them to the fields, and will at every quarrel employ this new means of war. They will finish by despising the ancient symbolism, which so long appeared imposing; and Cicero, in his presumptuous levity, will accuse it of absurdity.

The first consuls after Brutus and the expulsion of kings, were named Valerius and Horatius, the names also of the first consuls after the decemvirate (449). The democracy introduced by the decemvirs in the civil right passes into the political right. For the future, the laws made by the people assembled in tribes become obligatory even on the patricians. The observation of the auspices was not necessary in these comitia, as in those of the centuries. A short time after, the people demanded the abolition of the law which forbade marriage between the two orders, and would share the consulate.¹

The patricians yielded to the first article (444), hoping the law would subsist, at least in fact, and that none of them would derogate themselves by uniting with a plebeian family. For the consulate, rather than share it, they preferred abolishing the consuls, and allowing the command of the troops to remain in the hands of the military tribunes, whom I take to have been the tribunes of the legions. The judicial power of the consuls passed to patrician magistrates, called prætors; the superintendence of manners, the classing the citizens into centuries and tribes, the *census*, in one word, became a special charge. By preserving this last power from shipwreck, the senate saved all; by the *census* they were able to compose the legislative assemblies so as to rule them. Each tribe, each century, gave a vote; the multitude of poor, compressed

¹ Appendix XXV.

by the censors into a small number of centuries and tribes, could do less than a small number of rich, who composed the immense majority of tribes and centuries.

The office of censor, prætor, edile, overlooker of buildings and public games, and the questorship, a judicial charge, and afterwards financial, were detached from the consulate. The republic thus organized itself by means of dismemberment. The king is one; he unites in himself all power. The consuls are still in the plenitude of power, but for one year only, and they are two. Then the consulate also is dismembered in its turn.

The patricians, however, long contented themselves with being able to arrive at the military tribunate, and only raised patricians to it. The distinguished plebeians were indignant at the carelessness of their partisans; they wished for honours, but the others, for the most part, demanded nothing but bread. The tribune, Licinius Stolo, supported by his father-in-law, the noble Fabius, proposed a law which ameliorated the lot of the debtors, which reduced to five hundred acres the extent of land which it was allowable to possess; the rest was to be divided among the poor.

The consulate was re-established, and it was agreed that one of the consuls was always to be a patrician. The struggle lasted ten years; that is to say, a long period, like that which preceded the decemvirate; the siege of Veii lasted also ten years, like those of Troy, Ithome and Tyre: is an ordinary phrase in antiquity. During half this time the tribunes opposed every election, and Rome remained five years without magistrates. The plebeians at length gained the victory (367), and they obtained with less difficulty (from 357 to 352) the dictatorship, the edileship, and finally the censorship, that last asylum of aristocratic power. The people thus followed up their victory over the patricians during the century which followed the decemvirate (450 to 350). As the interior war became less violent, the exterior wars were more fortunate. It was not surprising that the people, conquerors of the Roman aristocracy, should by preference turn their arms against aristocrats, against the Etruscans.

At the same time they pursued with divers success the eternal war of the Volsci-Equi, they advanced in Etruria, and began to mark each victory by a conquest. They triumphed over the sacred towns of Tarquinii and Vulsinium, Capaena, and took possession of Fidenæ (435), and of the great Veii (405), which involved Falerii in her ruin.¹

Veii was not succoured by the other Etruscan cities, then threatened with an invasion of the Goths. Besides, the Veians had given themselves a king instead of the annual magistrate, and a king odious to the other cities. This lucumon, irritated at not having been named supreme chief of the confederation, had stirred up the artisans, who were under his clientage, and violently interrupted the sacred games of Vulsinii. This fact is probably an indication of the rivalry between the rich town of the trades-people and the holy town of the priests.

On leaving for the siege of Veii, the Roman knights swore never to return, unless they were conquerors. This was the vow of the Spartans, on leaving for Ithome. On the approach of the Roman army, the Veians left their city, clothed in funeral apparel, and bearing lighted torches. Of all the other incidents of the siege we shall cite one, which proves how dependent, with regard to religion, the Romans were on these same Etruscans, against whom they were now making war.

Veii was taken by a mine; the besiegers, who were concealed in it, overheard the reply of an oracle which the Etruscans consulted in the citadel; they repeated the words to Camillus, the general, and the town, thus betrayed by its own gods, fell into the hands of the Romans.

The hope of possessing so rich a prey had encouraged the senate to give pay to the legions for the first time. From that time war supported war; and it could be prolonged without regard to the seasons, and extend far beyond Rome.

Falerii soon fell into the power of the Romans. Vulsinium, whose rivalry had perhaps caused the ruin of Veii,

¹ Appendix XXVI.

was in her turn vanquished. The Romans seemed about to conquer the whole of Etruria. She was saved by those Gauls whom she had so much feared.

We know that, in the time which followed, the rich and pacific Etruria often paid the Gauls for fighting with Rome. All leads us to believe that such was the case at this epoch. Etruria was perishing between the Gauls and the Romans, who both threatened her. It is probable that she paid the barbarians, and thus turned the torrent upon Rome. This was a precious opportunity to terminate with one blow the eternal ravages to which the neighbours of Rome were subjected, and to destroy both the northern and southern brigands, the Romans and the Gauls.

This opinion is supported by the fact, that in Etruria the Gauls attacked none but the known allies of Rome, Clusium and Cœre, and that the other Etruscans united their arms with those of the barbarians, and were defeated with them. The Gauls had for two centuries been overthrowing the dominion of the Etruscans in the north of Italy. The Insubrians had founded there Mediolanum (Milan), the Cenomans, Brixia and Verona; the Boians had occupied Bononia, or Bologna, and the Senones were advancing towards the south. According to the tradition, they marched towards Rome to revenge a violation of the right of nations; the Fabii, sent by the senate to intercede with the barbarians in favour of Clusium, had fought instead of negotiating. The Romans, struck with panic terror at the sight of their savage enemies, were dispersed at Allia, and took refuge at Cœre or at Veii. Some patricians shut themselves up in the capitol, and the town was burnt (388). According to Livy, they were gloriously delivered by a victory of Camillus who caused the expression of the Gaulish brenn (chief) to fall upon themselves: "Woe to the vanquished." According to Polybius, they paid a ransom: the testimony of this grave historian is confirmed by that of Suetonius, according to which, many centuries after, Drusus found, and retook from the Gauls, the ransom of Rome. It is evident that the Gauls were not long driven from the country. Livy himself shows them encamped at Tibur, which he calls

Arcem Gallici Belli. The Volsci, the Equi, and all the Latin tribes, returned under the alliance of the great city which they had hoped to destroy.

This epoch, so little glorious to the Romans, stood in great need of being ornamented by poesy. At least romantic embellishments have not been wanting. During the siege of the Capitol, a Fabius traverses the barbarian camp to accomplish a sacrifice on the Quirinal mount. Pontius Cominius devotes himself to carry to Camillus the decree which names him dictator. Manlius drives back the Gauls who are climbing the Capitol. Then come a number of Homeric combats, as under the walls of Troy. Another Manlius gains a collar (*torquis*) from a Gaulish giant, and the surname of *Torquatus*. Valerius is protected against his barbarian enemy by a sacred crow, &c.

After the burning of their city, the Romans wished to establish themselves at Veii. The opposition of the senate could not restrain the people. The gods interfered. As they deliberated in the senate, they heard a centurion in the square say to a standard bearer, "Remain here; this is the place to stay at." These words, inspired by heaven, retained the people upon the ruins of their country. But they rebuilt it hastily, and without observing the ancient outlines. Thus, instead of the ancient city, measured by the Etruscan lituus after the image of the celestial city, the plebeian Babel was hastily raised, agitated and stormy, but all powerful in conquest.

In the war which the Etruscan, Latin, and Gaulish nations made against the Romans during forty years, we do not see the Sabellian, Sabine, and Samnite populations. It cannot be doubted that then, as usual, the mountaineers descended to pillage the plain. Without their help, I cannot see how Rome, alone against so many enemies, could escape being exhausted by so long a war. The Gauls driven away, the Latins and Etruscans conquered, there remained only the Sabines and Samnites to dispute with the Romans the possession of Italy. Rome had bound herself to the Etruscans by granting the right of the city to the Veians, the Fidenates, and the Falisci,

who composed four new tribes. This new element introduced into the population must have contributed to render it hostile to the Sabellians. It was by the long and terrible war against the Samnites that she was to prelude the conquest of the world.

BOOK II.

CONQUEST OF THE WORLD.

CHAPTER I.

Conquest of central Italy—War of the Samnites, &c.—343—283.

WHEN the author of this history quitted Rome, the undulating plain, through the centre of which the road winds, was already obscured in the shades of evening. To the east, mountains crowned with oak and chestnut trees preserved a blue tint, while above, the snowy summits reflected the last rays of the setting sun. Thus the traveller's eye embraced the whole amphitheatre of the Apennines. The lower mountains form the eastern frontier of Latium; the peaks which elevate their eternal snows, behind them, mark the centre of the peninsula, the true nucleus of Italy. Behind is the savage Amiternum, the valley of the Lake of Fucinus, the cradle of the ancient Samnites.

The further you leave behind you the environs of Rome, and penetrate deeper into the mountains, the landscape, though less uniform, is not less sinister and gloomy. There is none of the sublimity or the brilliant verdure of the Alps, nor the African vegetation of Calabria and Sicily. Each struck with the rays of a burning sun, the hills have the precocious aridity of the south, with the vegetables of the north. The osprey of the sea shore, the raven of the plain, are gradually succeeded by the vulture. The mischievous fox, the rapid serpent, still cross the road and frighten your horse, as in the time of Horace:

“Seu per obliquum similis sagittæ terruit mannos.”

If you mount higher—if you penetrate the forests which form the belt of the Apennines—you will again find the old

divinities of Italy; you will hear the woodpecker tap the trunks of the oaks, and, towards night, the valley will resound with the growling of the bear, or the howling of the wolf (*aut vespertinus circum gemit ursus ovile*). Above are naked summits which reject all vegetation; last of all, ice and snow.

The interior of the Alps has frequently the most rugged character. Climb one of those peaks, you cast your eye into gloomy valleys, sometimes over a desolated country, upon a vast bed of flint, over which creeps a thread of water, or upon the declivity of a funnel, into which torrents engulph themselves. When from these gloomy defiles, these rainy valleys, these *Apennine catacombs*, as our Frenchmen call them,¹ the traveller issues into the March of Ancona, into Campania, or even into the desert plains of Apulia or Latium, he seems restored to life and light.

It is not more than twenty years since the axe began to clear these forests.² Up to that time they had been, in the hottest months of the year, an asylum for flocks. Towards the middle of May, the sheep of Apulia, the large oxen of the Campagna di Roma, left the burning plain, mounted the Abruzzi, and sought pasture under the shade of the chestnuts and the oaks. Armed shepherds, or some indigent fishermen on the borders of a volcanic lake, were all that could be met with in these deserts. And the ancient Samnites were merely savage shepherds, the enemies of the labourers of the plain,³ the stubborn adver-

¹ *Sejour d'un officier François en Calabre.*

² Orloff, *Mem. sur Naples.*

³ "The other army, with the consul Papirius, had now arrived at Arpi, on the sea-coast, having passed without molestation through all the countries in their way; which was owing to the ill treatment received by those people from the Samnites, and their hatred towards them, rather than to any favour received from the Roman people. For such of the Samnites as dwelt on the mountains used to ravage the low lands, and the places on the coast; and being savage themselves, despised the husbandmen who were of a gentler kind. Now the people of this tract, had they been favourably affected towards the Samnites, could either have prevented the Roman army from coming to Arpi; or, as they lay between Rome and Arpi, could, by intercepting the convoys of provisions, have caused such scarcity of every necessary, as would have been fatal.

"It seems proper to mention here, that it is allowable for a consul,

saries of the great Italian city, as the cantons of Uri and Unterwalden have been of Berne.

These tribes, inhabiting places fortified by nature, had scarcely any towns, and held them in contempt. Isolated for ages by a pastoral life, by the depth of the valleys which separated them, and by the impetuosity of their rapid streams, they remained shut up in their solitudes, ignorant of the riches of the plain, perhaps discouraged by the colossal walls of the Pelasgic cities. Meanwhile, a powerful youth had multiplied in the mountains. The pastures became insufficient for so great a multitude. They began to descend towards the valleys. We have seen how the ancient migrations of Mamertines, Sabines, and Samnites had been sanctified by religion. The Etruscans and the Greeks, still masters of all the western and southern shores of Italy, everywhere opposed to them an impenetrable barrier of strong towns, and forbade them the approaches to the sea. This barrier was first broken on the side of Campania.

In that *happy* land, called to this day, of all others, *the land of labour—Terra di Lavoro*—arose, in the midst of a plain, sheltered from the north wind, the rich and delightful Capua. The Samnites, who took it from the Etruscans, changed its name of Vulturnum, and called it, in opposition to their ancient country, *the town of the plain* (*capua, campania, à campo*). Having fallen into these warlike hands, Capua extended its military reputation far

dictator, and prætor, when they devote the legions of their enemies, to devote along with them, not themselves in particular, but any citizen whom they choose, out of a Roman legion regularly enrolled. “If the person devoted perishes, the performance is deemed complete: if he die not, then an image, seven feet high, or more, must be buried in the earth, and a victim sacrificed, as an expiation. Where that image shall be buried, there it shall be unlawful for a Roman magistrate to pass.” But if he shall choose to devote himself, as Decius did, then “if he who devotes himself die not, he shall not be capable of performing, with propriety, any act of worship, in behalf either of himself or of the public. Let him have a right to devote his arms to Vulcan, or to any other god, he shall do it, either by a victim, or in any other mode. The enemy should, if possible, be hindered from getting possession of the weapon, on which the consul stood when he uttered his imprecation; but if they chance to attain it, an atonement must be made to Mars by the sacrifices called *Suovetaurilia*.”—2 Livy, ix. 13, & viii. 10.

and wide. The Campanian horse were esteemed as highly as the foot soldiers of Latium. The tyrants of Sicily took them into their pay, and we find them as mercenaries even in the war of Peloponesus. No one would then have dared to say that Rome, rather than Capua, was to become the mistress of Italy.

This glory of the Campanian horsemen fell to the ground when their brothers from the mountains descended to attack them. The enervated masters of Capua implored the help of Rome, and gave themselves to her. The Romans then left the gloomy Latium; they came, for the first time, into this mild and beautiful country; they compared the swamps of the Tiber, and the forests of Algidus, with the voluptuous lands of their new subjects; they became acquainted with those pleasures of the southern countries to which they had so long been near without tasting—the baths, the circuses, and the idle conversations of the Agora, the elegance of the Greeks, and the sensuality of the Tuscans. The first Roman army could not withstand the seduction. As soon as they had tasted of this lotus, their country was forgotten. They desired no other than Capua. And wherefore should the legions not have founded a plebeian Rome, born from itself, and having nothing to fear from the tyranny of Appius? The plot became known, and the culprits, fearing punishment, marched against Rome, under the guidance of a patrician, whom they had forced to serve them as chief (one Manlius, Mallius, Melius, a common name for the chiefs of the people). They demanded the abolition of interest upon loans, a reduction in the pay of the horse soldiers, who had refused to join them, and they wished the people to have it in their power to choose the two consuls from among the plebeians. Thus, in this golden age of the republic, did the armies give laws to their country.¹

These concessions were a signal of enfranchisement for the Roman colonies and for Latium. And first, Rome

¹ The consul Posthumius orders the proconsul Fabius to quit the country of the Samnites. The latter replies, that it is not for him to receive orders from the consul, nor from the senate, but for the senate to receive his orders. Whereupon Posthumius marches his troops against Fabius.

having recalled her army from Campania, the Latins joined with the Campanians and the Sidicinians, that is, with the Samnites of the plain, to drive back the men of the mountains. Rome underwent the humiliation of avowing to the mountaineers that, in her treaties with the Latins, nothing prevented the latter from making war upon whom they chose.

But this temporary independence did not satisfy the nations of Latium and the Roman colonies established among them. Two of the last, then prætors of the Latins, came with threats to claim their portion of the Roman city, and to exact that one of the two consuls and half of the senators should be taken from among the Latins. Ought not those who had shared the labour to share the honour? The sovereign city, rather than give way, had recourse to the barbarians of the mountains.

Her armies traversed the bare and savage countries of the Marsi and the Peligni, promised them the spoils of the inhabitants of the plain, those even of the Roman colonies, and brought them with them into Campania. It was near Vesuvius, not far from Vesperii, that an obstinate battle terminated this fratricide war. The Romans have embellished it with heroic traditions. The patrician Manlius condemns to death a son who had conquered against his orders; the plebeian Decius devotes himself with the hostile army to the infernal gods.¹

Let us see what use the Romans made of their victory: "A forfeiture of a portion of their territory was exacted from Latium and Capua. The Latin lands, to which the Privernian was added, and also the Falernian, which had belonged to the people of Campania, as far as the river Volturnus, were distributed to the Roman commons. Of two acres, the portion allotted to each, three-fourths were assigned them in the Latin ground, the compliment to be made up out of the Privernian. In the Falernian, three acres were given to each, the addition of one being made in consideration of the distance. Of the Latins, the Lau-

¹ Livy, viii. 8. According to him, it was at this period that the Romans substituted for the phalanx the division into *manipula*, the shield for the buckler, and adopted the practice of fighting in three ranks, *hostati*, *principes*, *triarii*.

rentians were exempted from punishment; as were the Campanian horsemen, because they had not joined in the revolt. An order was made, that the treaty should be renewed with the Laurentians, and from that time this has been annually done, on the tenth day after the Latin festival. The privileges of citizens were granted to the Campanian horsemen; and, as a monument thereof, they hung up a tablet in the temple of Castor at Rome. The people of Campania were also enjoined to pay them a yearly stipend, of four hundred and fifty denarii¹ each; their number amounted to one thousand six hundred.

“The Lanuvians were admitted members of the state; the exercise of their public worship was restored to them, with a provision, that the grove and temple of Juno Sospita should be in common, between the burghers² of Lanuvium, and the Roman people. On the same terms with these, the Aricians, Nomentans, and Pedans, were received into the number of citizens. To the Tusculans, the rights of citizens, of which they were already in possession, were continued; and the guilt of the rebellion, instead of being imputed to disaffection in the state, was thrown on a few incendiaries. On the Veliternians, who were Roman citizens of an old standing, in resentment of their having so often arisen in rebellion, severe vengeance was inflicted; their walls were razed, and their senate driven into banishment; they were also enjoined to dwell on the farther side of the Tiber, with a denunciation that

¹ 14*l.* 10*s.* 7½*d.*

² Municipēs, from *munus*, a right, and *capere*, to possess. Of the conquered countries, the Romans constituted some Municipia, where the people retained their own laws and magistrates, and were even honoured with the title, and some of them with all the rights and privileges, of Roman citizens. The people of Cære were the first who were thus indulged with full rights; but afterwards, having joined some neighbouring states, in a war against Rome, all the privileges of citizens were taken from them, and the title only left. In other countries they planted colonies of their own citizens; by which means they disburthened the city of numbers of useless and poor inhabitants, and, at the same time, formed barriers against the adjoining states. Colonists retained all the rights of citizens, chose their own magistrates, and formed a kind of petty republics, under that of Rome. Other countries were made præfectures, deprived of their own laws and magistrates, and governed by a præfect sent annually from Rome.

if any of them should be caught on the hither side of that river, the fine to be paid for his discharge should be no less than one thousand asses,¹ and that the person apprehending him should not release him from confinement until the money should be paid. Into the lands which had belonged to their senators, colonists were sent, from the addition of whose numbers Velitræ recovered the appearance of its former populousness. To Antium, also, a new colony was sent, permission being granted, at the same time, to the Antians, of having themselves enrolled therein if they chose it. The ships of war were taken from them, and the people wholly interdicted from meddling with maritime affairs; but the rights of citizens were granted to them. The Tiburtians and Prænestians were amerced in a portion of their lands; not merely on account of their recent crime of rebellion, common to them with the rest of the Latins, but because they had formerly, in disgust at the Roman government, associated in arms with the Gauls, a nation of savages. From the other states they took away the privileges of intermarriage, commerce, and holding assemblies. To the Campanians, in compliment to their horsemen, who had refused to join in rebellion with the Latins, as likewise to the Fundans and Formians, because the troops had always found a safe and quiet passage through their territories, the freedom of the state was granted, without right of suffrage. The states of Cumæ, and Suessula, it was decreed, should be placed on the same footing, and enjoy the same privileges, as Capua. Of the ships of the Antians, some were drawn up into the docks at Rome; the rest were burned, and with the prows of these a pulpit, built in the Forum, was ordered to be decorated, hence called *Rostra*.²

Thus perished the ancient Campanian and Latin nationality, (340-314.) The unity of Italy, and consequently that of the world, were prepared by the victory of Rome. But those beautiful countries lost, with their political existence, their wealth, and even their salubrity. From this time, slowly, but invincibly, began that desolation of Latium

¹ 3l. 4s. 7d.

² From *Rostrum*, the beak or prow of a ship.—Livy.

which all the power of the masters of the world could not stop. The port of Antium was filled up, the course of the rivers was gradually obstructed, and their waters were spread over the country. The rich country of the Volsci is now covered by the Pontine marshes. In the time of Pliny, the site of their twenty-three cities was sought in vain.¹

It must be owned that it is to the patricians that the barbarous treatment which the conquered here received is chiefly attributable. The senate confirmed the domination of the Campanian knights, as it supported the lucumons of Vulsinii against their clients, the wealthy portion of Lucania against the poor. On the other hand, the consul Tib. Æmilius Mamercinus, the dictator Publius Philo, and his lieutenant Junius Brutus, the two last plebeians, all three friends of the people, as is indicated by the surnames Publius and Brutus, proceeded mildly against the Italians. We have observed how the father of the agrarian law, Spurius Cassius, showed himself favourable towards the Hernici whom he had conquered. We shall see the tribunes speak for the Samnites² in the treaty of the Caudine Forks; and, at a later period, the demagogue Marius so conciliate the allies, in the social war, as to lose his popularity. The reason is, that the plebeians always remembered their Italian origin; in that great asylum of Romulus, which, in time, was to receive all the populations of Italy, the plebeians, as the last comers, were nearest those who were not yet admitted.

The plebeians, by whose arms the senate had crushed their brothers, the Latins, exacted in return the equality of political rights. The plebeian dictator, Publius Philo, revived the law which made the plebiscita obligatory on patricians. He further caused it to be decreed that the senate could not refuse its sanction to laws made in the assemblies of centuries or tribes, but that it should beforehand approve the result of their deliberations. Lastly, of the two censors they were always to nominate one, a plebeian, (339.) Thus was consummated the pacification of the city, the marriage of the two orders, the unity of

¹ Pliny, iii. 5.

² Livy, ix. 7.

Rome. Nothing less would have done at the commencement of the struggle of two centuries which was to bring Italy under its subjection, and, through Italy, the world.

Then opened the terrible epopee of the Samnite war; the struggle of the city against the tribe, of the plain against the mountain. It was the history of the Saxons and of the Highlanders of Scotland. The former disciplined in great battalions; the latter assembled in irregular militia, but with nature on their side; the mountains covered and protected their children. Gloomy defiles, aerial peaks, blustering torrents, snows and frosts of the Apennines; the elements are for the sons of the earth against the sons of the city.

There are two chiefs of the Roman armies: the patrician Papirius (*Patricius*, *Papirius*, as *pater*, *pappa*, *pappus*), the plebeian Publilius. We all know that throughout this history these are the invariable names of the pitiless creditor and the ill-used debtor.¹ Papirius attempts, with regard to his lieutenant, Fabius Rullianus, who has conquered against his orders, to revive the atrocious severity of Manlius towards his son. To extol this Papirius, historians attribute to him a power and agility scarcely imitated from the heroic ages, but somewhat superfluous in wars of tactics, such as the disciplined armies of Rome then prosecuted. These historians say that it was Papirius whom the Romans would have opposed to Alexander the Great, had he passed into Italy.² In the Greek form which the first compilers of Roman history have given to their work, Papirius is the Achilles of Rome; and, to make the resemblance still greater, they have named him *Cursor*, (*Πόδας ὠκὺς Ἀχιλλεύς*).

In this terrible struggle, in which the Romans brought against the mountaineers almost all the inhabitants of the plains—Latins, Campanians, Apulians; in which the Samnites had on their side the Vestini, the Lucani, the Equi, the Marsi, the Frentani, Peligni, and many other tribes, the Greek colonies on the sea-coast, Tarentum and Palæopolis, dared to undertake to maintain the balance

¹ See Livy, viii. 28.

² Ibid.

between the great barbarian nations of Italy. These poor Greeks were so ignorant of their weakness that on one occasion (Livy, ix. 14), they dared to forbid the two parties to fight. This insolence first led to the ruin of Palæopolis. Incapable of defending herself against Rome, she introduced the Samnites within her walls, and was obliged, from the tyranny of her allies, to call upon the Romans as liberators.

The Samnites, driven from Campania by Publilius Philo, conquered three times by Papirius and Fabius, became disheartened, and wished to give up the authors of the war to the Romans, among others Brutulus Papius,¹ who preferred delivering himself up to death. Being unable to procure peace upon any condition, they perseveringly remained in their mountains, and thought to draw the Romans into a snare, which nature seemed to have prepared expressly for them in the Apennines. Some Samnite shepherds led the Romans to suppose that the large city of Luceria was about to be taken, and persuaded them to succour it, passing the mountains by the shortest road. Led by the consul, Spurius Posthumius,² the legions got entangled in a deep and narrow defile, between two rocks, crowned with gloomy forests. When they came to the end, they found it blocked up by enormous trunks of trees. They attempted to return, and found the snare closed upon them. The enemy was above their heads. The general of the Samnites, Caius Pontius, had only to deliberate as to the fate of the Roman army, whom he might crush without a struggle. He asked the advice of his aged father, the wise Herennius; the old man came to the camp, and pronounced this oracle: "Kill them all, or send them all back with honour; destroy your enemies, or make friends of them." Unhappily for himself, Pontius followed neither of these counsels; he made the conquered pass under the yoke,

¹ This is the fifth defender of Roman liberty who is called Brutus; the first consul, the first tribune, the plebeian lieutenant of the plebeian dictator Publilius Philo. The whole Brutian people revolted against the Lucanians.

² Was it intended to stigmatize, with this ignominious name, the author of the disgrace of Rome, as had been done in the case of the demagogues, *Spurius Cassius*, *Spurius Melius*, *Spurius Mæcilius*, &c.?

and, on the mere promise of a treaty, sent them back into their own country, mortally insulted. The only question at Rome now was to deceive the gods who had been called upon as witnesses of the promise of the consuls; Posthumius formed his resolution. "We alone have sworn," he said to the senators; "give us up, and recommence the war." Here history presents us with a serious comedy, admirably calculated to show us how the Romans respected the letter at the expense of the spirit. Let us hear the actual words of Livy:

"As the apparitor, out of respect to his dignity, was binding Posthumius in a loose manner, 'Nay,' said he, 'draw the cord tight, that the surrender may be regularly performed.' Then, when they came into the assembly of the Samnites, and to the tribunal of Pontius, Aulus Cornelius Arvina, a herald, pronounced these words: 'Forasmuch as these men, here present, without order from the Roman people, the Quirites, entered into surety, that a treaty should be made, whereby they have rendered themselves criminal; now, in order that the Roman people may be freed the crime of impiety, I here surrender these men into your hands.' On the herald saying thus, Posthumius gave him a stroke on the thigh with his knee, as forcibly as he could, and said with a loud voice, that 'he was now a citizen of Samnium, the other a Roman ambassador; that the herald had been by him violently ill-treated, contrary to the law of nations; and that the people he represented would therefore have the more justice on their side, in the war which they were about to wage.'"

The Samnites did not like this derisive satisfaction, but the gods seemed contented with it. It is painful to say the perjured were conquerors, and that faith and justice passed under the yoke with the Samnites.

Rome granted them two years' truce, in order to have time to strengthen herself by colonies in the two plains of Apulia and Campania, and thus to force her enemies into their mountains. The hope of a revolt made the Samnites descend into Campania; but Capua, trembling, contemplated their defeat without coming to their assistance. They then turned to the north of Italy, and invoked the support of the Etruscan confederation (315.)

This great people, gradually despoiled during the two preceding centuries, had slowly fallen back upon itself. The Samnites had long since seized its distant settlements of Campania, and the Gauls those on the borders of the Po. The whole population was consequently concentrated in the mother country. There, innumerable husbandmen covered the rural districts; industry animated the cities; incredible wealth was accumulated, which may be estimated by a single fact: The Romans at a later period took from Arretium alone enough to at once equip and maintain an army.¹ Still, amidst their religious festivals and their eternal banquets, the lucumons of Etruria confessed their decay, and predicted *the approaching night of the world*. They have stamped their monuments with that character of melancholy sensuality that takes its pleasure in haste, and profits by the protraction of the celestial anger. Meanwhile, beyond the cyclopean walls of the Pelasgian cities, they heard the danger approach. The Ligurians had pressed forward to the Arno; the Gauls, with loud cries, climbed the Apennines like bands of wolves, with their red moustaches and blue eyes, so terrifying to the men of the south.² And from the south, the heavy legions of Rome marched with a firm step to the common prey of the barbarians. Already the great city of Veii left a vacant place in the national assembly of the annual festivals of Vulsinii. The sacred pantomimes, the sumptuous tables, and the dances regulated by the Lydian flute, must be quitted; the docile, rural labourers must be equipped as soldiers, and despite everything the hand must be given to the intrepid Samnites.

The army of the confederation commenced the war with but little glory. Driven from Sutrium, a Roman colony, it plunged into the Ciminian forest, not thinking that the Romans would ever dare to enter it. "This forest," says Livy (xi. 36), "was then even more impenetrable and more replete with horror than in my own time are those of Germany; no merchant ventured into its recesses."

Whosoever has actually seen the country which stretches

¹ That with which Scipio concluded the second Punic war.

² See Thierry, *Hist. des Gaulois*, ii.

between those volcanic lakes, those stormy hills, those beds of lava, those cones of basalt, will understand the unwillingness of the Romans to enter that land full of monuments of the wrath of the gods. Add to this, the neighbourhood of the gloomy Vulsinii, the centre of the Etruscan religion, with its hypogees, its mournful festivals and its human sacrifices. Lastly, the recollection of the Caudine Forks. "On this, Marcus Fabius, the consul's brother, (some say, Cæso, others Caius Claudius, born of the same mother with the consul) undertook to explore the country, and to bring them in a short time an account of every particular. Being educated at Cære, where he had friends, he was perfectly acquainted with the Etrurian language. I have seen it affirmed that, in those times, the Roman youth were commonly instructed in the Etrurian learning, as they are now in the Greek: but it is more probable that there was something very extraordinary in the person who acted so daringly a counterfeit part, and mixed among the enemy. It is said, that his only attendant was a slave, who had been bred up with him, and who was therefore not ignorant of the same language. They received no further instructions at their departure than a summary description of the country through which they were to pass; to this was added the names of the principal men in the several states, to prevent their being at a loss in conversation, and from being discovered by making some mistake. They set out in the dress of shepherds, armed with rustic weapons, bills, and two short javelins each."¹

The Umbrian Gauls, the enemies of the Tuscans, promised these envoys to fight with the Romans, and to give them provisions for thirty days. Fabius crossed the forest; but the ravages of the Romans, or perhaps Gaulish mobility, had already made the Umbrians change sides. Fabius conquered none the less, and the three most warlike towns of Etruria, Perusia, Arretium, and Crotona, demanded a truce of thirty years.

Meanwhile the Roman army, opposed to the Samnites, had well nigh encountered new Caudine Forks. The

¹ Livy, ii. 297.

senate, in this peril, wished to raise Papirius Cursor to the dictatorship; but could it be hoped that Fabius would nominate the old general who had formerly demanded his death? Fabius received the deputies of the senate with his eyes lowered, and without saying a word. For an entire day he struggled against himself; but the following night, in the time of profound silence, according to the ancient custom, he nominated Papirius dictator.

The Etruscans, seeking in the terrors of religion aid to strengthen the courage of their people, united themselves together by the *Sacred law*, which devoted every coward to the infernal gods. Each combatant chose a companion; and thus, all overlooking one another, the cowardly incurred greater danger by flight than by combat. The two armies met on the sacred borders of the Vadimon Lake. The rage and despair of the Etruscan army were so great, that they left here their darts and javelins, and came at once to the sword. They forced the first and second line of the Romans, but were driven back by the triarii and the horse-soldiers. Never could Etruria recover from such a blow.

The Samnites experienced no better fortune. Doubtless, enriched by the subsidies of the Etruscans, the mountaineers had formed two armies, distinguished, one by its bucklers chased in gold, and by variegated uniform, the other by white uniforms and silvered bucklers.¹ All of them had their left leg mailed and their helmets surmounted by a brilliant plume. The Romans were not in the least astonished by all this. "Do you see," said the consul Junius the cow-herd (Bubulcus), "do you see these victims devoted to the god of death?" These beautiful arms were destined to ornament the Forum. The cowardly

¹ ¹ Æneid, viii. 689. See Jesirus, in loc. Macrobius, v. 18. Thucyd. ii. 23.

Livy, ix. 40. "Their troops were in two divisions, one of which had their shields embossed with gold, the other with silver. The shape of the shield was this: broad at the middle to cover the breast and shoulders, and flat at the top, sloping off gradually so as to become pointed below, that it might be wielded with ease; a loose coat of mail also helped to defend the breast, and the left leg was covered with a greave; their helmets were adorned with plumes, to add to the appearance of their stature. The golden-armed soldiers wore tunics of various colours; the silver-armed of white linen."

Campanians had their share; they decked their gladiators with them, and called these slaves, dressed for battle in the games, by the name of *Samnites*.

Livy estimates the number of Samnites killed in each battle at twenty or thirty thousand. However exaggerated these numbers may be, it is difficult to understand how a nation could have sufficed for so many defeats. The reason is, that the Samnites recruited themselves from among almost all the tribes of Central Italy and Magna Græcia, from the Umbrians, the Marsi, Marucini, Peligni, Frentani, even from the Æqui and the Hernici, the allies of Rome. It was in order to turn her arms against these nations, and to prevent their assisting the Samnites, that Rome granted to the latter a treaty of peace and even of alliance. The Hernici and the Æqui, who had furnished so many soldiers to the Romans, defended themselves no better. These nations for many years had not made war in their own name; their armies, without chief or counsel, dispersed of themselves; each hastened to his field to transport what he possessed into the cities. The Romans, attacking them separately, made quick work of them; in fifty days they took from the Æqui and burnt and razed forty-one towns. As to the Hernici, they were content to impose upon them the onerous privilege of the right of citizenship without that of suffrage, by depriving them of their magistrates and their assemblies; they even interdicted marriage between the inhabitants of one town and those of another.

Thus the Samnites found themselves henceforth deprived of the aid of nations of the same race. Hemmed in on all sides by the Roman colonies of Fregella, Atina, Interamna, Casinum, Teanum, Suessa Aurunca, Alba, and Sora; denounced to the Romans by the Picentini, their brothers, and by the Lucanians, their allies, forced into Bovianum, conquered at Maleventum, (which became the Roman *Beneventum*,) they formed an extraordinary resolution. They condemned themselves to exile,¹ and, abandoning their mountains, they descended to the Etruscans, to make them fight with them whether they would or no.

¹ Livy, x. 11, 16.

"The Etruscans, reanimated by the courage of the Samnites, won over the Umbrians, and even purchased the aid of the Gauls. They had once before endeavoured to turn these barbarians against Rome, and thus to change their enemies into allies. The money was counted and paid in advance, but the Gauls had refused to march. "This money," they insolently said, "is the ransom of your fields; if you would have us serve you against Rome, give us land." We might suppose we were reading a history of the Condottieri of the middle ages. But this time the Gauls themselves understood how much all Italy had to fear from the Romans; they joined the confederates near Sentinum. This general league of the north of Italy had been brought about by the Samnite general, Gellius Egnatius. Terror was at its height in the Roman army, then under the orders of the eloquent and incapable Appius; his successor, the aged Fabius Rullianus, knew how to reassure the soldiers. As they surrounded the consul to salute him, Fabius asked them where they were going. On their answering that they were going to fetch wood, he said:—"What do you tell me; have you not a rampart raised about your camp?" "They had," they replied, "a double rampart, and a trench; and, notwithstanding, were in great apprehension." "Well, then," said he, "you have abundance of wood, go back and level the rampart." They accordingly returned to the camp, and there levelling the rampart, threw the soldiers who had remained in it, and Appius himself, into the greatest fright, until, with eager joy, each called out to the rest, that "they acted by order of the consul, Quintus Fabius."¹

Fabius, however, had reason to repent of this proud confidence; a legion was exterminated; the entire army ran great risk, had not the general given orders to the troops whom he had left among the Etruscans, to call them home by ravaging their lands. At the moment that Fabius and Decius, his colleague, were going to attack the Gaulish and Samnite army, a hind, pursued by a wolf, threw itself between the two armies; the wolf ran towards

¹ Livy, x. 25.

the children of the god to whom it is sacred; the hind went to the Gauls, and with her, terror. Meanwhile, the noise of the chariots of the barbarians, the rattling of the wheels, terrified the horses of the Romans, and put their cavalry to flight; even the legions were beginning to give way, when Decius, renewing the devotion of his father, threw himself into the enemies' battalions. The Gauls in their turn falling back, pressed close, and formed an impenetrable wall of bucklers. The Romans overthrew this rampart by thrusts of javelins; still the vigour of the Gauls ceded less to their efforts than to the ardent rays of the Italian sun, under which the men of the north have so often given way.

The Etruscans, whose dereliction had been so fatal to the Gauls, made peace at any price. Perugia and Clusium, then Arretium and Volsinii, furnished corn, copper, a sagum and a tunic to each soldier, solely to obtain permission to send a supplicatory deputation. But the Samnites would no more make peace with Rome. After fifty years of defeat, this unfortunate people still had recourse to its gods who had so ill protected it. Ovidius Paccius, an old man with one foot in the grave, discovered all sorts of rites, formerly employed by their ancestors when they took Capua from the Etruscans. Forty thousand warriors met at a rendezvous in Aquilonia, and promised to assemble at the first command of the general; whosoever should abandon him, was to be devoted to the anger of the gods. In the middle of the camp, on a space of two hundred square feet, they formed an inclosure of linen cloth, and sacrificed according to rites also written upon linen cloths. In the midst of the inclosure arose an altar, and about it stood soldiers with naked swords. They then introduced the bravest of the people, one by one, like so many victims. First, the warrior took an oath of secrecy as to the mysteries; then he was made to repeat frightful imprecations against himself and his people if he fled, or if he did not kill all cowards. Whoever refused to swear, was slain at the foot of the altar. Then the general named ten warriors, each of whom chose ten others, and so on till the number amounted to sixteen thousand. This body was called the legion of linen (*linteata*). It

was supported by another army of twenty thousand men. All kept their oath, if it be true, as their conquerors boast, that they killed more than thirty thousand of them.

However obstinate this last contest for Italian liberty, the Romans, better disciplined, thought they had conquered beforehand. We may judge from a few words of their general, Papirius. The keeper of the sacred chickens had falsely announced to him that they had eaten; he was informed of this deception. "What matter is it to us?" he said; "the curse can only fall on him." In the heat of the battle, Papirius vowed to Jupiter, not a temple, not a sacrifice, but a small cup of wine, mixed with honey, before his first meal. This was a war, indeed, a war of massacre and booty: merchants followed the army to buy slaves. Aquilonia and Cominium were both burnt in one day. Numberless towns were desolated and burnt. Fury often even made men forget avarice; they sometimes went so far as to kill animals. But Polybius tells us that this was a custom of the Romans, in order to increase the terror of their enemies.¹ Curius Dentatus finished the depopulation of the country. Decius occupied forty-five encampments in Samnium, Fabius eighty-six, all of them easily recognised, less by the vestiges of the ditches and entrenchments, than by the solitude and utter devastation of the neighbourhood.

This atrocious war peopled with fugitives every cave in the Apennines. Less happy than the *outlaws* of England, these proscribed wretches have not left behind them any

¹ On the occasion of the taking of Carthagera by Scipio. But was not this rather the accomplishment of some barbarian vow? As to the devastations occasioned by this war, see Livy, Supplem. xi. 22. At the triumph of Papirius over the Samnites, the conquerors carried back with them 2,660,000 pounds weight of copper, the produce of the sale of the prisoners, and 2,660 marks of silver, taken from the city. The whole was deposited in the public treasury, the soldiers receiving no portion of it whatever as prize money. The Falisci, after having remained long in subjection, joined the Etruscans. They were fined 100,000 pounds weight of copper, and the pay of the conquering army for a certain period. Carvilius alone contributed to the treasury 390,000 pounds of copper, and built the temple of Fors Fortuna, besides giving each soldier 102 *as*, and double that amount to each centurion and knight.

monument, not even a war-song—not even a funeral wail; the only trace we have of it is the following passage in Livy, characterized by the most scornful and pitiless indifference:—

“However, that the Romans might not pass the year entirely exempt from war, a little expedition was made into Umbria, intelligence being received from thence, that numbers of men, in arms, had, from a certain cave, made excursions into the adjacent country. Into this cave the troops penetrated with their standards, and, the place being dark, they received many wounds, chiefly from stones thrown. At length, the other mouth of the cave being found, for it was pervious, both the openings were filled up with wood, which being set on fire, there perished by means of the smoke and heat, no less than two thousand men; many of whom, at the last, in attempting to make their way out, rushed into the very flames.”¹

CHAPTER II.

Continuation of the last chapter—Conquest of southern Italy—War of Pyrrhus, or war of the Greek mercenaries in Italy, 281—267.

THE southern point by which Italy is united to Sicily, separates the basins of two seas, one of which extends from Vesuvius to the volcano of Lipari, from Naples to Panormo, and to the peak of mount Eryx; the other from Tarentum to Crotona, and from Locris to Syracuse. These coasts were formerly called *Magna Græcia*. Beyond the two coasts and the two seas, rise *the mountain*, (*al Gibel*, as the Arabs call Etna.) There, all rises in colossal proportions; the volcano is a snow-capped mountain of ten thousand feet high, which quite eclipses Vesuvius; there is a single chestnut tree upon it, under which a hundred horses may stand; African aloes there rise to the height of sixty feet. The surrounding cities correspond

¹ 2 Levy, x. 1.

to this grandeur. The herculean hand of the Dorians is visible in the ruins of the cities of Magna Græcia and of Sicily, in the remains of Agrigentum, in the columns of Pæstum, and in the white spectre of Selinuntum, which from such a distance may be seen rising amidst solitudes.¹ Agrigentum had more than two hundred thousand inhabitants; Syracuse sent more than a hundred thousand soldiers through its gates.² Effeminate Sybaris, whose shore is now shared between wild bulls and sharks,³ armed, we are told, as many as three hundred thousand men against the sturdy Crotoniates. The shore of Tarentum (and this faint vestige tells more than all the rest) is red with the fragments of the vases that were accumulated in the great city.⁴

The colossal power of these cities, their enormous wealth, their industry, their naval forces, which so far surpassed those of the mother country, did not delay their ruin. The metropolis lasted in its mediocrity; penurious Lacedæmon existed for a thousand years; ingenious and sober Athens lived out the life of a people, despite its demagogues: their reverses weakened without destroying them. But in the history of the cities of Magna Græcia, defeat is ruin.

Thus passed away from the world Sybaris and Agrigentum, the Tyre and the Babylon of the west. The Crotoniates, conquerors of Sybaris, caused two rivers to flow on the place where it had stood. Amidst the eternal convulsions of this land of volcanos, the nations fluctuated between the alternatives of a furious demagogism and an atrocious tyranny; and they yet, at the sight of so many perils, regarded tyranny as a benefit, as compared with that devouring Carthage, more terrible to Sicily than the yawning mouth of Etna.

It is no wonder, that amidst this impetuous and semi-barbarous life, Pythagorean reform should have been unable

¹ Swinburne's Travels, iii.

² According to Diodorus i., Dionysius the Tyrant obtained from the city of Syracuse alone, an army of 120,000 foot, and 12,000 horse.

³ *Sejour d'un Off. Franc. en Calabre.*

⁴ "We find here, not indeed a Monte Testaccio, but a shore composed of the same elements. In turning up the surface, instead of loam we come upon fragments of pottery, with which the whole place is red." P. L. Courier, *Mém. et Corresp.* i.

to prevail. Could the philosophy of numbers make audible the harmony of the celestial spheres amidst the tumult of the democratic agora of the Achæian cities? Could it nourish with milk and honey him who carried a bull on his shoulders and killed it by a single blow? The real philosophy of the country was that of Empedocles, that which, at first mournfully preoccupied with the origin of evil, refers everything to love and discord, resolves all systems into its poetry as into a burning lava, and which, in a fit of frenetic pantheism, abandons itself to that intoxicating and terrible nature which summons it to the bottom of Etna. Or rather, the Italian philosophy struggles with and resists the school of Elea; at the sight of all the convulsions of nature and of society, it denies the change, recognises no substance but itself and thought; and, arming itself with intrepid logic, it destroys by way of reprisal the reality which crushes it.

The last of the calamities of Græcia Magna and of Sicily, the most terrible, was that, war supporting war, there were formed armies without a country, without laws, without God, who sold themselves to the first comer, made all society uncertain of its existence, and, under an enterprising chief, threatened to become mistresses of the whole country. This was an old evil in Sicily. It was by mercenary troops that the Gelos and the Dionysiuses had defended the island against the Carthaginians, in order to possess themselves of it; but the horror of this scourge reached its height under Agathocles. The abandoned child of a potter, taken from the street, he rose by means of his beauty and infamous morals; then, calumniating the magistrates, letting loose mercenaries into Syracuse and the neighbouring cities, he became king of his country. He ventured to quit it to besiege the Carthaginians, who besieged him; unable to succeed, he abandoned his army, his child; and, to finish his hideous life, he was burned alive.¹

Such was then the common evil of the world: armies were to be sold, ephemeral tyrants, kingdoms gained and lost by a throw of the dice. The very day on which Alexander, shown to his weeping soldiers, made them

¹ Diod. xxv.

kiss his dying hand, the cavalry and infantry were on the point of fighting at the gates of Babylon. While the king was being carried to the temple of Ammon, his mother, his wife, and his little ones, were being murdered by men who dropped with fear at the mere sight of his statue.¹ Then were seen wonderful events, prodigious fortunes; since Alexander had surpassed Hercules and Bacchus, all things seemed possible. It was supposed for a moment that one of his guards (Antigonus) would succeed him in the empire of Asia; but matters became more and more disordered; all fought against all. Two men of eighty (Seleucus and Lysimachus) still disputed which should carry to the grave that sad name, *last conqueror*, (Nicator.) The feeble empires which arose out of this overthrow subsisted only by incessantly buying new troops. The degenerate Greeks of Syria and Egypt, like our *poulains*² of the Holy Land, continually brought mercenary troops from the mother country. Thus, war having become a trade, an immense military force floated about from Carthage to Selencia. If ever this force, instead of dividing itself in the service of so many different states, had fixed itself upon one point, in order to make war on its own account, there would have been an end, not only to liberty and the civilization of the world, but also to all order, all justice, all humanity.

And the mercenaries had already attempted to fix themselves. Mamertini, from Campania, doubtless of the Samnite race, had occupied Messina. In front, the city of Rhegium was occupied by the Campanian Jubellius Decius and four thousand of his countrymen in the service of Rome. Thus situated in the central point between Rome, Syracuse, and Carthage, the Mamertini had raised in the Straits the ancient power of Capua. All were terrified, Carthaginians, Romans, even Hiero, the new tyrant of Syracuse, who had at first employed the mercenaries.

What was always wanting to this terrible power, dis-

¹ Plut. *L. of Alex.* A long time after the death of Alexander, Cassander, king of Macedonia and master of Greece, was one day at Delphi looking at the statues. Suddenly coming before that of Alexander, he trembled and shuddered all over, and seemed panic-struck.

² The name given by way of contempt to the degenerate descendants of the crusaders who settled in the Holy Land.

persed through the world, was a chief, a head, a mind. The impetuous Pyrrhus himself, son-in-law of Agathocles, chief of the Epirotes, the Scanderbeg of antiquity, was, despite his taetics, only brute force. The horns of goats, with which this brilliant soldier surcharged his helmet, call to mind the blind impetuosity of the mysterious animals who, in the dream of Ezekiel, go only in bounds and by power of reins, without touching the earth, overthrowing empires in their course. Notwithstanding his royal origin, Pyrrhus was at first scarcely more fortunate than Agathocles. At his birth, his father had just been killed; the servants who carried him in their flight were stopped by a stream, and were on the point of perishing without being able to pass the child over to the other side. Three times master of Macedonia, at one time of Sicily and of Magna Græcia, this child of fortune, so often caressed and chastised by her, left all to her at his death. "To whom do you bequeath your inheritance?" said his children to him. "To the sharpest sword," he answered.¹

It was impossible but that the son-in-law of Agathocles should turn his attention towards Sicily and Italy; there is nothing more probable than his famous dialogue with Cineas. All those projects on Magna Græcia and Carthage are already seen in the discourse which Thucydides puts into the mouth of Alcibiades before the war of Syrause. The Italians had already called in Cleonymus the Lacedæmonian, and Alexander the Molossian, brother-in-law of Alexander the Great.² All the Greek adventurers then dreamed of accomplishing the work of Alexander, and doing in the West what he had done in the East. Pyrrhus, it is said, wished to throw a bridge³ across the Adriatic Sea between Apollonia and Otranto. The opportunity for this passage soon presented itself.

The Tarentines were assembled in their theatre, from whence the sea was visible, when they saw on the horizon

¹ Plut. *Life of Pyrrhus*.

² So the Italians in 1464 sent for Scanderbeg. The Venetians usually had Albanians in their service.

³ Such as Varro formed a notion of in the time of the Piratic war.—Appian, *Mith. Bell.*

ten vessels of Latium. A favourite orator of the people, Philocharis, surnamed Thaïs, on account of his infamous morals, arose and maintained that an ancient treaty forbade the Romans to double the promontory of Lacinian Juno. All the people arose with cries to seize the vessels. The ambassadors sent by Rome on this occasion were received at a public banquet, and mocked by the people; a Greek dared even to soil the robe of the ambassadors. "Laugh," said the Roman; "my robe will soon be washed in your blood." The Tarentines, frightened at their own audacity, called in Pyrrhus; and to persuade him, they wrote him word, that with the Lucanians, Messapians, and Samnites, they could levy twenty thousand horse, and three hundred and fifty thousand foot. Some of them, however, foresaw the danger of introducing the Epirotes. A citizen presented himself before the assembly with a crown of dried flowers, a torch, and a flute-player, as if he had come intoxicated from a feast. Some applauded, others laughed, all told him to sing. "You are right, people of Tarentum," he said; "let us dance and play the flute while we can; we shall have something else to do when Pyrrhus comes." In fact, hardly had Pyrrhus arrived at Tarentum, when he undertook to discipline the people, closed the gymnasium and the theatres, placed guards at the gates to prevent any one from quitting the town, and sent home, first one and then another citizen, to have them killed.¹

In the first encounter, near Heraclia, the Romans were astonished at the elephants, which, in their simplicity, they called *bulls of Lucania*. But the victory cost dear to Pyrrhus. When he was congratulated upon it, he said: "Another such, and I shall return alone to Epirus." However, supported by the Samnites, the Lucanians and the Messapians, he marched upon Campania in the hope of raising it. Nothing stirred. He pushed on to Prænestes; saw Rome from the tops of the mountains, but the legions approached on all sides to surround him; he hastened to regain Tarentum.

It was, however, necessary to get out of this war with honour. After having in vain endeavoured to gain over

¹ Plut. *Life of Pyrrhus*.

Fabricius, sent to him to ransom prisoners, he dispatched to Rome the cunning Cineas, by whose eloquence he had, he said, taken more cities than by the power of arms. The address of the ambassador and the presents of the king moved the senate in his favour. At this moment the aged Appius Claudius, formerly censor, had himself carried to the senate by his four sons, who had all been consuls. This old man, full of vigour and authority, always governed his numerous house, his four sons, his five daughters, and a crowd of clients, with absolute power. "He was," says Cicero, "a bow always bent, which years had been unable to slacken. His slaves feared him, his children revered him. His was a house of morals and ancient discipline." Appius made himself odious during his censorship, by mixing the lower people in all the tribes, and by insisting upon remaining in that magistracy for five years; but he immortalized himself by a magnificent aqueduct, and by the indestructible monument of the Via Appia, which he carried from Rome to Capua. This old man made the senate ashamed of its weakness, and dictated the answer that they were to give to the king of Epirus: "If he would have peace, let him forthwith quit Italy."¹

Obliged to continue the war, Pyrrhus fought the Romans near Asculum without being able to decide the victory. This time, a soldier having wounded an elephant, dissipated the terror that they inspired. The Romans, in order to cope with these monsters, and to give more stability to their legions, had invented a *carroccio*, of the same kind as that which the Lombards of the middle ages opposed to Frederic Barbarossa. This car was armed with stakes, the horses covered with iron, and the soldiers who mounted it armed with torches, to frighten the elephants.² (280.)

¹ Quo sese mentes, rectai quæ stare solebant
Antehac, dementes sese fluxere viai.

Ennii, Frag. ap. Cicer. de Senect.

See as to the Via Appia, Procopius, de B. G. l. and Montfaucon.

"The censorship of Appius Claudius and Caius Plautius, for this year, was remarkable; but the name of Appius has been handed down with more celebrity to posterity on account of his having made the road, called after him, the Appian, and for having conveyed water into the city." See also Cicero, *De Senect.* and *pro Lælio*.

² Plin. viii. 7.

Pyrrhus, discouraged, seized this opportunity of quitting Italy. The Sicilians called him against the Mamertini and the Carthaginians. He everywhere drove these barbarians before him; but the soldiers whom he led were no better than the Mamertini. They made the Sicilians regret the enemies from whom they had delivered them. Pyrrhus again passed into Italy, loaded with the imprecations of the people; he brought their detestation of him to a crisis by pillaging at Locris the temple sacred to Proserpine, and penetrating the vaults where the sacred treasure was kept. This fatal gold seemed to bring misfortune upon him. It was observed that, from that time, he failed in all his undertakings.

The expedition into Sicily had prevented him from profiting in time by the discouragement of the Romans. If we may believe an historian, plague and war had at this time disgusted them with life.¹ All refused to enrol themselves. Curius made all the tribes draw lots, and afterwards the members of the first tribe. The citizen upon whom the lot fell refuses, his property was declared confiscated; he protested, but the tribunes refused to support him, and the consul had him sold as a slave. This army, however, levied with so much difficulty, defeated Pyrrhus at Beneventum. The rout commenced with a young elephant, who, wounded in the head, attracted its mother by its cries; the roaring of this one scared the other elephants. Pyrrhus then betrayed Tarentum,² and returned to Epirus, from whence he was again to conquer Macedonia, and to depart to die in Argos by the hand of an old woman. His retreat left the whole of the centre and the south of Italy to the Romans. The Campanians who had established themselves at Rhegium, were forced from it; three hundred of them, taken to Rome, were beaten with rods, and beheaded. Thus Rome seemed to have nothing further to fear from the Italian or Greek mercenaries;

¹ Val. Max. vi. 3, 4.

² On his departure, he left the citadel in charge of Milo, whose justice seat he covered with the skin of the physician who had endeavoured to poison him. The incident is mentioned only by Zonoras, but it is entirely conformable with what we know of the barbarity of Alexander's successors, of the leaders of mercenaries, and particularly, of the cruelty of Pyrrhus in Sicily.

she had at least doubled her forces, and had learned from Pyrrhus the scientific castrametation of the generals of Alexander. The king of Epirus, on quitting Sicily, pronounced a prophecy upon that island: "What a beautiful field we leave to the Romans and the Carthaginians."¹

CHAPTER III.

Punic war, 265-241.—Reduction of Sicily, Corsica, and Sardinia; of Italian Gaul, Illyria, and Istria, 238-219.

It is not without reason that the recollection of the Punic war has remained so popular and vivid in the recollection of men. That struggle was not merely to decide the fate of two cities or of two empires; the matter in hand was to determine to which of the two races, Indo-Germanic or Shemitic, should belong the dominion of the world. It must be remembered that the first of these two families of nations comprehends, besides the Indians and the Persians, the Greeks, the Romans, and the Germans; in the other are included the Jews and the Arabs, the Phenicians and the Carthaginians. On the one side the heroic genius, that of art and of legislation; on the other, the spirit of industry, navigation, and commerce. These two hostile races have everywhere encountered and everywhere attacked each other. In the primitive history of Persia and of Chaldea, the heroes incessantly oppose their industrious and perfidious neighbours. The latter are artisans, smiths, miners, enchanters. They love gold, blood, pleasure. They raise towers of a Titanic ambition, aerial gardens, magical palaces, which the sword of the warrior dissolves and effaces from the earth. The struggle between the Phenicians and the Greeks was reproduced on all coasts of the Mediterranean. Everywhere the latter succeeded to the

¹ Plut. *Life of Pyrrhus*.

factories, to the colonies of their rivals in the west, as the Romans will do in the east. Let it also be observed with what fury the Phenicians attack the Greeks at Salamis under the auspices of Xerxes, the same year that the Carthaginians, their brothers, disembarked in Sicily the prodigious army which Gelo destroyed at Himera. And at a later period, the Greeks, to end the matter, went in their turn to attack their eternal enemies in their own country. Alexander did far more against Tyre than Psalmanasar or Nebuchodonozzar. He did not content himself with destroying it; he took care that it should never be able to rise again, by substituting for it Alexandria, and for ever changing the route of the commerce of the world. There remained the great Carthage, and her empire far differently powerful from that of Phenicia; Rome annihilated her. There was at that time seen a thing that is found nowhere else in history, an entire civilization passed away at a blow, like a fallen star. The periplus of Hanno, a few medals, a score of verses in Plautus, and there is all that remains of the Carthaginian world. Many centuries were necessary before the struggle of the two races could recommence, before the Arabs, that formidable rear-guard of the Shemitic, moved from their deserts. The struggle of the races became that of two religions. Fortunately these bold horsemen encountered on the east, the impregnable walls of Constantinople, on the west, the battle-axe of Charles Martel, and the sword of the Cid. The crusades were the natural reprisal of the Arab invasion, and the last epoch of that struggle between the two principal families of the human race.

In order to divine this lost world of the Carthaginian empire, and to comprehend what would have become of humanity, had the Shemitic race conquered, we must collect what is known of Phenicia, the type and metropolis of Carthage.

On the narrow beach overlooked by the cedars of Lebanon,¹ swarmed a numerous people, crowded into the islands, and close maritime cities. On the rock of Aradus, to cite only one example, the houses had more stories than even

¹ When Lebanon still had cedars. See Volney, *V. en Syrie*.

at Rome.¹ This impure race, flying before the sword of Sesostris, or the exterminating knife of the Jews, had found themselves driven to the sea, and had taken it for their country. The immoderate licentiousness of the modern Malabar, can alone recal the abominations of these Sodomites of Phenicia. There, generations multiplied without certain family, each ignorant who was his father, born multiplying promiscuously, like the insects and reptiles which after rain-storms crawl about in myriads on their burning shores.

They themselves said they were born of slime. Their great gods were the Cabiri, industrious workmen with immense bellies. There was Baal :

“ Belial came last, than whom a spirit more lewd
Fell not from heaven, or more gross to love
Vice for itself : to him no temple stood
Or altar smok'd ; yet who more oft than he
In temples and at altars, when the priest
Turns atheist, as did Eli's sons, who fill'd
With lust and violence the house of God ?
In courts and palaces he also reigns,
And in luxurious cities, where the noise
Of riot ascends above their loftiest towers,
And injury and outrage : and when night
Darkens the streets, then wander forth the sons
Of Belial, flown with insolence and wine.
Witness the streets of Sodom and that night
In Gibeah²

Night, the moon, Astaroth, was still worshipped by the Phenicians. She was the mother of the world, and, like Isis and Cybele, she carried the palm from all the gods. The preponderance of the female principle in these sensual religions was found at Carthage, where a goddess presided at the councils. Every year Isis embarked from Pelusium for Byblos,³ and, carrying the head of a man in a mysterious veil, went in search of the limbs of her husband.

¹ Tabulata tibi jam tertia fumant.
Tu nescis : nam si gradibus trepidatur ab imis,
Ultimus ardebit quem tegula sola tnetur.

Jur. III.

Augustus forbid the Romans to build houses of more than seventy feet high.

² *Paradise Lost*, i. 490-505.

³ *De Dea Syria*, c. 7.

There the sponse, taking the name of Adonis, was lamented by the daughters of Phenicia. His blood ran from the mountains in the red sand of a river. Then there were lamentations, funeral dances during the night, and tears mixed with disgraceful pleasures. But the god arose, and they terminated in furious intoxication this festival of life and death. In spring, more especially, when the sun, resuming his power, gave the type and signal of universal renewal; at Tyre, at Carthage, perhaps in all cities, a pyre was prepared, and an eagle, in imitation of the Egyptian phoenix, sprang from the flame to heaven. This flame was Moloch¹ himself. The greedy god demanded human victims; he loved to embrace infants with his devouring tongues; and frantic dances, songs in the harsh language of Syria, redoubled blows of the barbarous tambourine, prevented the parents from hearing the cries.

The Carthaginians, like the Phenicians, from whom they sprang, seem to have been a rugged and mournful people, sensual and covetous, adventurous without being heroic. At Carthage, accordingly, the religion was atrocious and full of fearful practices. In public calamities, the walls of the city were hung with black cloth.² When Agathocles besieged Carthage, the statue of Baal, all red with the internal fire that they illumined in it, received into its arms as many as two hundred children; and three hundred people afterwards cast themselves into the flames. It was in vain that Gelo, their conqueror, forbade them to immolate human victims. Even Roman Carthage, in the time of the emperors, secretly continued these frightful sacrifices.

Carthage represented its metropolis, but upon an enormous scale. Situated in the centre of the Mediterranean, commanding the coast of the west, oppressing her sister Utica, and all the Phenician colonies of Africa, she mingled conquest with commerce, everywhere establishing

¹ Doubtless the same with the Melkarth of Tyre, to whom every Phenician colony and Carthage herself paid tribute. It is said that the Tyrians, when besieged by Alexander, chained the statue of Apollo to that of Melkarth, to prevent her going over to the enemy.

² Diod. xix.

herself at the sword's point, founding factories in spite of the natives, imposing duties and taxes upon them, forcing them at one time to buy, and at another to sell. To understand fully how oppressive was this mercantile tyranny, one should look at the government of Venice, and read the statutes of the state inquisitors;¹ one must understand the despotic and whimsical manner in which the Spanish monopoly was exercised at Peru, when the luxurious merchandize rejected by Europe was taken there, when the poor Indians were forced to buy what Spain no longer wanted, when they made a man without a shirt take an ell of velvet, or a labourer without bread buy a pair of spectacles. There is a fine chapter in the "Esprit des Lois" upon the monopoly of Carthage and her commercial empire, which I must lay before you:

"The law of nations which obtained at Carthage was very singular; all strangers, who traded to Sardinia and towards Hercules' pillars, this haughty republic sentenced to be drowned.² Her civil polity was equally extraordinary; she forbid the Sardinians to cultivate their lands, upon pain of death. She increased her power by her riches, and afterwards her riches by her power. Being mistress of the coasts of Africa, which are washed by the Mediterranean, she extended herself along the ocean. Hanno, by order of the senate of Carthage, distributed thirty thousand Carthaginians from Hercules' pillars as far as Cernc. This place, he says, is as distant from Hercules' pillars, as the latter is from Carthage. This situation is very remarkable. It lets us see, that Hanno limited his settlements to the 25th degree of north latitude, that is, to two or three degrees south of the Canaries.

"Hanno being at Cerne, undertook another voyage, with a view of making further discoveries towards the south. He took but little notice of the continent. He followed the coast for twenty-six days, when he was obliged to

¹ See Daru, *Hist. de Venise, Pieces Justificatives*, where we find, amongst other things, that the mechanic who had transferred any useful trade from Venice to some other country, was first invited to return, and on his refusal, poniarded by the agents of the senate.

² Eratosthenes, ap. Strabo, xvii.

return for want of provisions. The Carthaginians, it seems, made no use of this second enterprise. Scylax¹ says, that the sea is not² navigable beyond Cerne, because it is shallow, full of mud and sea-weeds: and, in fact, there are many of these in those latitudes.³ The Carthaginian merchants, made mention of by Scylax, might find obstacles, which Hanno, who had sixty vessels of fifty oars each, had surmounted. Difficulties are at most but relative; besides, we ought not to confound an enterprise, in which bravery and resolution must be exerted, with things that require no extraordinary conduct.

“The relation of Hanno’s voyage is an excellent fragment of antiquity. It was written by the very man that performed it. His recital is not mingled with ostentation. Great commanders write their actions with simplicity; because they receive more glory from facts than from words.

“The style is agreeable to the subject: he deals not in the marvellous. All he says of the climate, of the soil, the behaviour, the manners of the inhabitants, correspond with what is daily seen on this coast of Africa; one would imagine it the journal of a modern sailor.

“He observed from his fleet,⁴ that in the day-time there was a prodigious silence on the continent, that in the night he heard the sound of different musical instruments, and that fires might then be everywhere seen, some larger than others. Our relations are conformable to this; it has been discovered, that in the day the savages retire into the forests to avoid the heat of the sun, that they light up great fires in the night to disperse the beasts of prey, and that they are vastly fond of music and dancing.

¹ See his *Periplus*, under the article of Carthage.

² See Herodotus in Melpomene, on the obstacles which Sataspes encountered.

³ See the charts and relations in the first volume of voyages that contributed to the establishment of an East India company, part i. p. 201. This weed covers the surface of the water in such a manner as to be scarcely perceived, and ships can only pass through it with a stiff gale.

⁴ Pliny tells us the same thing, speaking of Mount Atlas: *Noctibus micare crebris ignibus, tibiaram cantu tympanorumque sonitu strepere, neminem interdū cerni.*

“The same writer describes a volcano with all the phenomena of Vesuvius; and relates that he took two hairy women, who chose to die rather than follow the Carthaginians, and whose skins he carried to Carthage. This has been found not void of probability.

“This narration is so much the more valuable, as it is a monument of Punic antiquity; and from hence alone it has been looked upon as fabulous. For the Romans retained their hatred to the Carthaginians, even after they had destroyed them. But it was victory alone that decided whether we ought to say, the Punic or the Roman faith.

“Some moderns¹ have imbibed these prejudices. What is become, say they, of the cities described by Hanno, of which even in Pliny’s time there remained not the least vestiges? But it would have been a wonder, indeed, if any such vestiges had remained. Was it a Corinth or Athens that Hanno built on those coasts? He left Carthaginian families in such places as were most commodious for trade, and secured them as well as his hurry would permit against savages and wild beasts. The calamities of the Carthaginians put a period to the navigation of Africa; these families must necessarily then either perish or become savages. Besides, were the ruins of these cities even still in being, who is it that would venture into the woods and marshes to make the discovery? We find, however, in Scylax and Polybius, that the Carthaginians had considerable settlements on those coasts. These are the vestiges of the cities of Hanno; there are no other, from the same reason that there are no other of Carthage itself.

“The Carthaginians were in the high road to wealth; and had they gone so far as four degrees of north latitude, and fifteen of longitude, they would have discovered the Gold-coast. They would then have had a trade of much greater importance than that which is carried on at present on that coast, at a time when America seems to have degraded the riches of all other countries. They would there have found treasures, of which they could never have been deprived by the Romans.

¹ Mr. Dodwell. See his *Dissertation on Hanno’s Periplus*.

“Very remarkable things have been said of the riches of Spain. If we may believe Aristotle,¹ the Phenicians, who arrived at Tartessus, found so much silver there, that their ships could not hold it all; and they made of this metal their meanest utensils. The Carthaginians, according to Diodorus,² found so much gold and silver in the Pyrenean mountains that they adorned the anchors of their ships with it. But no foundation can be built on such popular reports. Let us therefore examine into the facts themselves.

“We find in a fragment of Polybius, cited by Strabo,³ that the silver mines at the source of the river Batis, in which forty thousand men were employed, produced to the Romans twenty-five thousand drachmas a day, that is, about five millions of livres a year, at fifty livres to the mark. The mountains that contained these mines were called the⁴ Silver Mountains: which shows they were the Potosi of those times. At present, the mines of Hanover do not employ a fourth part of the workmen, and yet they yield more. But as the Romans had not many copper-mines, and but few of silver; and as the Greeks knew none but the Attic mines, which were of little value, they might well be surprised at their abundance.

“In the war that broke out for the succession of Spain, a man called the Marquis of Rhodes, of whom it was said that he was ruined in golden mines, and enriched in hospitals,⁵ proposed to the court of France to open the Pyrenean mines. He alleged the example of the Tyrians, the Carthaginians, and the Romans. He was allowed to search, but sought in vain; he still alleged, and found nothing.

“The Carthaginians being masters of the gold and silver trade, were willing to be so of the lead and pewter. These metals were carried by land from the ports of Gaul upon the ocean to those of the Mediterranean. The Carthaginians were desirous of receiving them at the first hand; they sent Himileo to make a⁶ settlement in the

¹ Of wonderful things.

² Lib. vi.

³ Lib. iii.

⁴ *Mons Argentarius.*

⁵ He had some share in their management.

⁶ See Festus Avienus.

isles called Cassiterides, which are imagined to be those of Seilly.

“These voyages from Bœtica into England have made some persons imagine, that the Carthaginians knew the compass: but it is very certain that they followed the coasts. There needs no other proof than Himileo’s being four months in sailing from the mouth of the Bœtis to England: besides, the celebrated piece of history of the Carthaginian¹ pilot, who, being followed by a Roman vessel, ran aground, that he might not² show her the way to England, plainly intimates, that those vessels were very near the shore, when they fell in with each other.

“The ancients might have performed voyages that would make one imagine they had the compass, though they had not. If a pilot was far from land, and during his voyage had such serene weather, that in the night he could always see a polar star, and in the day the rising and setting of the sun, it is certain he might regulate his course as well as we do now by the compass: but this must be a fortuitous case, and not a regular method of navigation.

“We see in the treaty which put an end to the first Punic war, that Carthage was chiefly attentive to preserve the empire of the sea, and Rome that of the land. Hanno,³ in his negotiation with the Romans, declared, that they should not be allowed even to wash their hands in the sea of Sicily; they were not permitted to sail beyond the *promontorium pulchrum*; they were forbid to trade in Sicily,⁴ Sardinia, and Africa, except at Carthage: an exception that lets us see there was no design to favour them in their trade with that city.

“In early times there had been very great wars between Carthage and Marseilles⁵ on the subject of fishing. After the peace they entered jointly into the economical commerce. Marseilles at length grew jealous, especially as, being equal to her rival in industry, she was

¹ Strabo, lib. iii. towards the end.

² He was rewarded by the senate of Carthage.—Strabo, iii.

³ Frienshemius’s *Supplement to Livy*, 2nd Decad.

⁴ In the parts subject to the Carthaginians.

⁵ Justin, lib. xliii. cap. 5.

become inferior to her in power. This is the motive of her great fidelity to the Romans. The war between the latter and the Carthaginians in Spain was a source of riches to Marseilles, which was now become their magazine. The destruction of Carthage and Corinth still increased the glory of Marseilles, and had it not been for the civil wars, in which this republic ought on no account to have engaged, she would have been happy under the protection of the Romans, who had not the least jealousy of her commerce."¹

The vast commercial empire² of the Carthaginians, spread over the coasts of Africa, Sicily, Sardinia and Corsica, Gaul, Spain, and even on the shores of the great ocean, cannot be compared to the compact possessions of the English and the Spaniards in America; but rather to that chain of forts and factories which constituted the Portuguese and Dutch empire in the East Indies. Like these, the Carthaginians did not establish themselves in their colonies without hope of returning. It was the poor part of the people whom they sent thither, to enrich themselves by the quick profits of a tyrannical commerce, and who hastened to return to the mother country to enjoy the fruits of their robberies, somewhat as the merchants of Amsterdam formerly did, and as the English nabobs now do. There were rapid and colossal fortunes, unheard of robberies and exactions, there were Clives and Hastings, who might boast also of having exterminated millions of men by a monopoly more destructive than war.

This dominion rested upon two ruinous bases, a navy, which at this period of art other nations could easily equal,³ and mercenary armies as exacting as they were faithless. The Carthaginians were anything but warriors personally, although they had constantly speculated in war. They went in small numbers, protected by heavy

¹ Montesquieu, *Esprit des Lois*, xxi. ii.

² As to the articles in which the Phenicians traded, doubtless analogous, for the most part, with those in which the Carthaginians dealt, see Ezekiel, xxvii. xxviii., the most ancient document of commercial statistics extant.

³ Diod. xiii.—The Syracusans considered the Carthaginians very indifferent sailors.

and rich armour.¹ If they appeared, it was doubtless less to fight in their own persons than to overlook their hired soldiers, and to make sure that they earned their pay. And even the few Carthaginian troops that we do find in their armies, must have been composed chiefly of native Africans, either Lybians of the desert, or mountaineers of Atlas. In this way we may account for the frequent confusion of the conquering Arabs of these countries, with the Moors their subjects. However, this duality of race frequently betrays itself in the history of Carthage: the military genius of the Barcas belonged, as the name of Barea seems to indicate, to the warlike nomades of Lybia, more than to the Phenician merchants. The true Carthaginians are the Hannos, covetous administrators and incapable generals.²

The life of an industrious merchant, of a Carthaginian, was too valuable to be risked, when he could advantageously substitute a poor Greek, or a Spanish or Gaulish barbarian in his stead. Carthage knew almost to a drachma how much the life of a man of such or such a nation would fetch. A Greek was worth more than a Campanian, and a Campanian more than a Gaul or a Spaniard. This tariff of blood being thoroughly known, Carthage commenced a war as she would a mercantile speculation. She undertook conquests, either in the hope of finding new mines to work, or to make markets for her merchandise. She could expend fifty thousand mercenaries in this enterprise better than in that. If the returns were good, they did not regret the capital; they again bought men, and all went on well.

It may be supposed that in this kind of commerce, as in every other, Carthage would select her merchandise with discernment. She did not use many Greeks, who had too high a spirit, and did not allow themselves to be led easily. She preferred the barbarians; the skill of the Balearic slinger; the fury of the Gallic horseman (*la furia francese*); the swiftness of the Numidian, meagre and ardent as his horse; the intrepid coolness of the Spanish foot soldier, so

¹ Plut. *Life of Timoleon*. The merchants of Palmyra were armed in like manner in their battles against Aurelian. See Zozimus.

² Polyb. i.

temperate and robust, so firm in the fight with his red sagum and his two-edged sword. These armies were not unlike those of the Condottieri of the middle ages. But the soldiers of the Carthaginians not learning to carry gigantic arms, like the companions of Hawkwood or of Carmagnola, were without a certain advantage over the national troops. A long war might render the soldiers of Syraeuse or of Rome equal to the mercenaries of Carthage. The latter, like those of the middle ages, could at any moment change sides, except that in making war upon poor nations they must have had less temptation to treason. Sforza might fluctuate between Milan and Venice, and betray them by turns; but what could have persuaded the army of Hannibal to join with the Romans? The troops in the service of Carthage seldom served in their own country; they were carefully kept from it; the different bodies of the same army were isolated from each other by difference of language and religion; they often depended for provisions upon Carthaginian fleets; add to this, that the generals, not being at the same time magistrates, as at Rome, had fewer opportunities of oppressing liberty; finally, the terrible tribunal of the Hundred kept watch near them, and on the slightest suspicion crucified them. This state inquisition, like that of Venice, ended by absorbing the entire public power. It was recruited from among the administrators of finance who had left office. Nominated for life by the people, the Hundred ruled over all the ancient powers, the senate and the two sophetim or judges. A financial oligarchy thus holding the entire state in its hands, money was the king and god of Carthage. Money alone gave magistracies, caused the foundation of colonies, formed the sole bond of the army. The course of the history will amply show all the inconveniences of this system.

When the Romans, conquerors of Tarentum and masters of Magna Græcia, arrived on the shores of the strait, they found themselves front to front with the Carthaginian armies.

“It may, perhaps, be useful to those who are at any time engaged in deliberations of a like nature and importance, to take a closer view of the true state and merits of

this contest. With this design, and in order to free the reader from those perplexities in which the mistakes and prejudices of other historians will be likely to entangle him, we shall here set before his view the several treaties that had ever been concluded between the two republics, from the earliest times.

“The first was of the age of Lucius Junius Brutus, and Marcus Horatius, who were created the first consuls, after the expulsion of the kings, and who consecrated the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. This was twenty-eight years before Xerxes invaded Greece. I have given the sense of it with all the skill and accuracy of which I am master; for the language that was used in those times is so different from that which is now spoken among the Romans, that frequently the best interpreters, even after the closest application, are unable to explain it.

“ ‘Between the Romans and their allies, and the Carthaginians and their allies, there shall be peace and alliance upon these conditions: Neither the Romans nor their allies shall sail beyond the Fair Promontory, unless compelled by bad weather or an enemy. And in case that they are forced beyond it, they shall not be allowed to take or purchase anything, except what is barely necessary for refitting their vessels, or for sacrifice: and they shall depart within five days. The merchants that shall offer any goods to sale in Sardinia, or any part of Afric, shall pay no customs, but only the usual fees to the scribe and crier; and the public faith shall be security to the merchant for whatever he shall sell in the presence of the officers. If any of the Romans land in that part of Sicily which belongs to the Carthaginians, they shall suffer no wrong or violence in anything. The Carthaginians shall not suffer any injury to the Ardeates, Antiates, Laurentines, Circæans, Tarracinians, or any other people of the Latins, that have submitted to the Roman jurisdiction; nor shall they possess themselves of any city of the Latins that is not subject to the Romans. If any one of these be taken, it shall be delivered to the Romans in its entire state. The Carthaginians shall not build any fortress in the Latin territory; and if they land there in a hostile manner they shall depart before night.’

“This Fair Promontory stands on the north side of Carthage; and their design, as I imagine, in not permitting the Romans to sail forwards to the south of it, was, that they might conceal from them the knowledge of the country that lay round Byzacium and the Little Syrtis, which, on account of its uncommon richness and fertility, was called *two markets*. But in case that they are forced beyond it by rough weather, or an enemy, they then engage, indeed, to supply them with whatever may be wanted for refitting their vessels, or for sacrifice, but allow nothing to be taken beyond what is barely necessary, and enjoin them to depart within five days. But Carthage, and the other parts of Afric that stand on this side the Fair Promontory, together with Sardinia likewise, and as much of Sicily as belonged to the Carthaginians, are left open to the Roman merchants; and the public faith is pledged for their security and equitable treatment.

“It is to be observed, that the Carthaginians here speak of Afric and Sardinia as being entirely subject to their jurisdiction. But with regard to Sicily, the conditions of the treaty are expressly limited to those parts of the island only which are said to belong to Carthage. The Romans observe, on their part also, the same manner of expression, in speaking of the Latin territory: and no mention is made of the rest of Italy, which they had not at that time subdued.

“There was afterwards another treaty, in which the Carthaginians united the Tyrians and Uticeans: and to the Fair Promontory before mentioned they now added Mastia and Tarseium, beyond which it was not permitted to the Romans to sail in search of plunder, or to build any city. These are the words of the treaty:—

“‘Between the Romans and their allies, and the Carthaginians, Tyrians, Uticeans, and their allies, there shall be peace and alliance upon these conditions:—The Romans shall not sail in search of plunder, nor carry on any traffic, nor build any city, beyond the Fair Promontory, Mastia, and Tarseium. If the Carthaginians take any city of the Latins, not belonging to the Roman jurisdiction, they may reserve to themselves the prisoners, with the rest of the booty, but shall restore the city. If any of the Cartha-

ginians gain any captives from a people that is allied, by a written treaty, with the Romans, though they are not the subjects of the empire, they shall not bring them into the Roman ports; in case they so do, the Romans shall be allowed to claim, and set them free. The same condition shall be observed also by the Romans; and when they land in search of water or provisions, upon any country that is subject to the Carthaginians, they shall be supplied with what is necessary, and then depart, without offering any offence to the allies and friends of Carthage. The breach of these conditions shall not be resented as a private injury, but be prosecuted as the public cause of either people. The Romans shall not carry on any trade, or build any city, in Sardinia or in Afric; nor shall they even visit those countries, unless for the sake of getting provisions, or refitting their ships. If they are driven upon them by a storm, they shall depart within five days. In those parts of Sicily which belong to the Carthaginians, and in the city of Carthage, the Romans may expose their goods to sale, and do everything that is permitted to the citizens of the republic. The same indulgence shall be yielded to the Carthaginians at Rome.' ¹

Three powers, Carthage, Syracuse, and the Mamertini, shared Sicily. Rome, called on by one faction of the latter, hesitated not to protect at Messina those whom she had just punished at Rhegium. The consul Appius passed legions into Sicily, part in Greek vessels, part upon rafts. Hiero, the tyrant of Syracuse, was conquered by the Romans, as he himself says, *before he had had time to see them*. He reflected that, after all, he had less to fear from a people without a navy, and he became the most faithful ally of Rome.

In less than eighteen months the Romans, favoured by the natives, seized sixty-seven places, and the large city of Agrigentum, defended by two armies of fifty thousand men. But, to remain masters of an island, it was necessary to be masters of the sea. The Romans, who seem hitherto to have had scarcely any navy,² took as a model a wrecked galley of Carthage; at the end of sixty days they

¹ Polybius, iii. 3.

² See Freret.

put to sea a hundred and sixty vessels, attacked the Carthaginian fleet, and conquered it. During the construction, they exercised their rowers on dry land, making them manœuvre on the shore. To compensate for their inferiority of address and practice, they invented iron hands (*corvi*), which, falling on the Carthaginian vessels, rendered them immovable, and facilitated boarding. The conqueror, the consul Duillius, had, for life, the privilege of being attended home at night by torches and flute-players. Besides the tediousness of this life-long triumph, he had, for a trophy of his victory, a column ornamented with heads of vessels, the pedestal of which still exists. The inscription engraved upon it is one of the most ancient monuments of the Latin tongue.¹

Rome easily gained possession of Sardinia and Corsica, where the barbarous monopoly of the Carthaginians had hitherto forbidden the cultivation of land. New successes in Sicily gave her hope of accomplishing in Africa what Agathocles had attempted. But the Roman soldiers feared the dangers of a long voyage and an unknown world. The consul Regulus had to threaten a legionary tribune with rods and the axe before he could effect the embarkation. One of the first enemies they encountered in Africa was a boa-constrictor, one of those monstrous serpents whose species seems to have greatly diminished.

Two victories gave two hundred cities to the Romans. Regulus would not grant peace to Carthage if she kept more than one armed vessel. Fear had almost made her agree to anything, when a Lacedæmonian mercenary, named Xantippus, who was at Carthage, declared that there remained too many resources for them to give in as yet. Placed at the head of the army, he contrived to draw the Romans into the plain, and beat them by his cavalry and elephants. Regulus entered Carthage, but it was as a captive, and the new reverses experienced by the Romans fixed the war in Sicily.

The Carthaginians having, in their turn, however, met with ill success, sent Regulus to Rome to treat for peace and an exchange of prisoners. They reckoned on the interest he himself had in speaking for them. All the

¹ Appendix XXVII.

historians, except Polybius, the gravest of all, assert that Regulus gave the senate the heroic counsel to persist in the struggle, and leave to die as captives those who had not been able to remain free.

If we credit the testimony of the Romans—a testimony of dubious verity, but agreeing with what we otherwise know of the cowardly barbarism of the Carthaginians—Regulus, on his return, was abandoned by them to the torments of a lingering death; they exposed him to an African sun, after having cut off his eyelids; they deprived him of rest and light by confining him in a barrel stuck with iron spikes. The indignant Roman senate, it is added, gave up the Carthaginian prisoners to the children of Regulus to undergo the same punishment.¹

For eight years the Romans were conquered in Sicily. They successively lost four fleets. The most disgraceful of these disasters was caused by the imprudence of the consul, Appius Pulcher. At the moment of giving battle, he had the sacred fowls consulted, and as they refused all food, he said: "Let them drink, since they will not eat," and had them thrown into the sea. The soldiers, discouraged at this impiety, were conquered beforehand. Some years afterwards, the sister of Clodius being pressed by a crowd at Rome, cried: "Would to the gods my brother still led the armies of the republic!" The people punished this homicidal wish by a fine.

Meanwhile, the greatest general Carthage then had, Hamilcar, father of the famous Hannibal, threw himself upon Mount Eryx, between Drepanum and Lilybæum. "This," says Polybius, "is a mountain whose summit, steep and rugged on all sides, is at least a hundred stadii in circumference. At its base, all round, is a highly fertile country, where the winds of the sea are not felt, and where venomous beasts are never seen. On either side, towards the sea and the land, are frightful precipices, the space between which is easily kept. From the summit rises a peak, from which all that passes in the plain may be seen. The harbour is of great depth, and seems made to receive those who go from Drepanum and Lilybæum into

¹ See the various versions of Tudetanus and Tubero in Aulus Gellius, iv. 4; of Livy, *Epit.* Cicero, *Offic.* iii. 26, 7; and *Contra Pisonem*; Florus, ii. 2; Appian, &c.

Italy. The mountain can only be approached by three very difficult ways. In one of these passages Hamilcar encamped. It required an intrepid general thus to throw himself in the midst of his enemies,—not an allied town, not a hope of succour. With all this he did not fail to give the Romans terrible alarm. First, he came forth, desolating the whole of the side of Italy, and ventured even as far as Cuma. There the Romans having encamped at five stadii from his army before Panormus, for nearly three years he fought them innumerable times.”

And yet, amidst the successes of Hamilcar, Carthage suddenly deemed herself reduced to ask peace of the Romans. She had sent him money and provisions in a fleet of four hundred vessels. These vessels were without soldiers; they were to be armed by Hamilcar himself. Meanwhile the Roman fleet, so many times shattered by storms, had just been equipped afresh by voluntary contributions of the citizens. This fleet of two hundred quinqueremes encountered that of Hanno before it reached Sicily (at the Ægates' islands), and destroyed one fourth of it. This check served to take away the courage of the Carthaginians. Their Hamilcar was conqueror; they had lost, indeed, five hundred galleys in the course of the war, but Rome had sacrificed seven hundred. It occurred to the merchants of Carthage that the cessation of their commerce did them more harm than the most successful war could compensate. They calculated with affright what the boundless recompence which Hamilcar had promised to his army would cost them, after so many expenses; and they preferred ceding Sicily to the Romans, engaging further, to pay them three thousand talents (seven hundred and twenty thousand pounds) within ten years. As a matter of commerce, the Carthaginians, in concluding this treaty, doubtless made a good bargain. But they did not perceive that their political power, once compromised in a struggle with Rome, must, unless supported by every possible means, carry away in its ruin both their commerce and their opulence, to which they so readily sacrificed their honour.

Despite the fatigue of Rome and the exhaustion of Carthage, the interval between the first and second Punic war (241—219) was filled by a series of expeditions,

which must necessarily have strengthened and extended the empire of the two republics. Hamilcar subjugated the African coasts to the great ocean (see the following chap.), and from thence invaded those of Spain; while Rome subdued the Gauls, the Ligurians, secured the ports of Italy, and extended her influence, by Marseilles and Saguntum, to the Rhone and the Ebro. Thus the two rivals, having ceased to fight face to face and hand to hand, seemed to be going about to meet one another by an immense circuit.

“The Ligurians, hidden at the foot of the Alps, between the Var and the Macra,¹ in districts bristling with rugged underwood, were more difficult to find than to conquer; an indefatigable and active race of men, a people rather of robbers than of warriors, who trusted to the rapidity of their flight and the inaccessible nature of their retreats. All these ferocious mountaineers—Salieni, Deceates, Euburates, Oxibeni, Ingauni—for a long time evaded the Roman arms. At length the consul Fulvius burned them out of their retreats, Bebius drove them down into the plain, and Posthumius disarmed them, leaving them no more iron than was necessary for instruments of agriculture (238—233).”²

For the half century that had elapsed since Rome had exterminated the Senones, the recollection of that terrible event had never been effaced from among the Gauls. Two kings of the Boii (the country of Bologna); At and Gall,³ had endeavoured to arm the people, in order to seize the Roman colony of Ariminum; they called in Gaulish mercenaries from beyond the Alps. Rather than enter upon a war against the Romans, the Boians killed the two chiefs and massacred their allies. They had tasted a

¹ The physical strength of the Ligurians occasioned the proverb: “The strongest Gaul is overthrown by the smallest Ligurian.”—Diod. v. 39. The Romans adopted from them the oblong buckler *scutum ligusticum*.—Livy, xlv. 35. The Ligurians tenaciously adhered to their old customs, for example, to that of wearing long hair; hence they were called *capillati*. Cato, in Servius, says of them: *ipsi unde orundi sunt exactâ memoriâ, illiterati, mendaces, quæ sunt et vera meminere*.

² Florus, ii. 43.

³ Atis and Galatus, in the Greek and Latin historians.—Polyb. ii. 5. Thierry, *Hist. des Gaulois*.

life utterly different to that of their ancestors. Peace and plenty had captivated these barbarians.

“In Cisalpine Gaul,” says Polybius, “for an obolus you can buy a bushel of wheat, Sicilian measure; for two, a bushel of barley; for a measure of barley an equal measure of wine. Millet abounds there. The oaks produce infinite quantities of acorns, which feed the vast numbers of pigs reared in Italy, either for home consumption or for military supplies. Provisions are so cheap there that in the inns the people do not reckon each article, but charge you so much a head, and the total amount for a meal is seldom more than a farthing.”

Rome, uneasy at the movements that were taking place among the Gauls, irritated them still more by forbidding all commerce with them, especially that of arms. Their discontent was carried to the highest point by a proposition of the tribune Flaminius. He demanded that the land conquered from the Senones, fifty years before, should at last be colonized and divided among the people. The Boii, who knew from the foundation of Ariminum what it would cost them to have the Romans for neighbours, repented of not having taken the offensive, and wanted to form a league between all the north of Italy. But the Veneti, a Slavonian people, enemies of the Gauls, refused to enter the league; the Ligurians were exhausted; the Cenomanni secretly sold to the Romans. The Boii and the Insubres (Bologna and Milan), standing alone, were obliged to call in from beyond the Alps the Gesates or *Gaisda*, men armed with the gais or boar-spear, who willingly entered into the pay of the rich tribes of Gallic Italy. By means of money or promises, their chiefs, Anroeste and Concolitan, were induced to accompany them.

The Romans, informed of all by the Cenomanni, took alarm at this league. The senate consulted the Sybilline books, and read with affright that the Gauls would twice have possession of Rome. They thought to turn aside this misfortune by burying alive two Gauls, a man and a woman, in the very centre of Rome, in the cattle market. In this way the Gauls had *taken possession of the soil of Rome*, and the oracle was accomplished or eluded. The terror of Rome had gained all Italy; all the

nations of that country thought themselves equally menaced by a terrible invasion of barbarians. The Gallic chiefs had taken from their temples the cloths embroidered with gold, which they called "the Immovable;" they had solemnly sworn, and made their soldiers swear that they would not take off their baldrics till they had mounted the Capitol. They carried away everything with them on their march—flocks, labourers, whom, bound, they drove with the whip; they took even the furniture of the houses. The whole population of central and southern Italy rose spontaneously to arrest the progress of such a scourge, and seven hundred and seventy thousand soldiers held themselves in readiness to follow the eagles of Rome, if necessary.

Of three Roman armies, one was to guard the passages of the Apennines which lead into Etruria. But the Gauls were already in the heart of that country, and within three days' march of Rome. (225.) Fearing to be shut in between the city and the army, the barbarians retraced their steps, killed six thousand of the Romans who pursued them, and would have destroyed them all if the second army had not rejoined the first. They then went away to place their booty in safety; they had retreated as far as Cape Telamon, when, by a surprising chance, a third Roman army, returning from Sardinia, disembarked near the camp of the Gauls, who thus found themselves surrounded. They faced about on two sides at once. The Gesates, out of bravado, took off all their clothes, and placed themselves naked in the first rank with their swords and bucklers. The Romans were for a moment intimidated by this odd sight, and by the tumult which the barbarian army presented. "Besides a number of horns and trumpets which did not cease sounding, there all at once arose such a concert of howls, that not only men and instruments, but the earth itself and the neighbouring places seemed to outvie each other in cries. There was also something terrifying in the countenance and gestures of these gigantic bodies showing themselves in the first ranks, with no covering but their arms; they were all adorned with chains, collars, and bracelets of

gold."¹ The inferiority of the Gallic arms gave the advantage to Rome; the Gallic sabre could only cut, and was so badly tempered that it bent at the first blow.

The Boii having been subdued in consequence of this victory, the legions passed the Po for the first time, and entered the country of the Insubres. The impetuous Flaminius would have perished there, had he not deceived the barbarians by a treaty until he could get more forces. Recalled by the senate, by whom he was disliked, and who pretended that his nomination was illegal, he was determined to conquer or to die, broke down the bridge behind him, and gained a signal victory over the Insubres. It was then that he opened the letters, in which the senate on the part of the gods predicted his defeat.

His successor, Marcellus, was a brave soldier. He killed in single combat the Brenn Virdumar, and consecrated to Jupiter Feretrius the second *opima*, spoils, since Romulus. The Insubres were subdued, and the dominion of the Romans extended over all Italy to the Alps. At the same time, they secured the two seas which separated them from Spain and Greece; they took Sardinia and Corsica from the Carthaginians, who were occupied by a war in Africa;² on the other side, under pretext of punishing the piracies of the Illyrian Istrians, they took possession of their country; and thus took into their empire, on the one hand, the Adriatic, and on the other, the Tuscan Sea (230-219).

CHAPTER IV.

The Mercenaries—Their revolt against Carthage, 241-238—Their conquest of Spain, 237-221—Their generals, Hamilcar, Hasdrubal, and Hannibal.

THE first chastisement of Carthage, after the disgraceful peace of the Ægate isles, was the return of her armies. These bands, without country, without law, without God,

¹ Polyb. ii.

² See chap. iv.

this impious and sanguinary Babel, whom she had set upon other nations, now fell upon her. Let us leisurely view this just expiation.

The great Hamilcar Barca had indignantly quitted the command. The republic was under the influence of merchants, financiers, collectors of taxes, administrators, Hannos. The successor of Hamilcar sent the mercenaries from Sicily into Africa, band after band, to give the republic time to pay and disband them. But the Carthaginians thought it hard to invest more capital in an affair which had made no return. They deliberated, in order to delay parting with their money, and they deliberated so long, that the whole army of Sicily found itself at Carthage. They would willingly have got rid of this army, and history leads us to presume that they would have had little hesitation in the choice of means. That Xantippus, who had saved them by his victory over Regulus, had they not sent him back with rich presents, and made him perish by the way, casting him into the sea? Had they not, in Sicily, settled their accounts with four thousand Gauls, by informing the Romans of the road they were to take?¹

Others, who demanded their pay, had been landed, and abandoned on a sand-bank, which navigators soon saw whitened with their bones, and which is called the *Island of Bones*.²

The army returned from Sicily was too powerful to fear anything of this kind. The mercenaries felt themselves masters of Carthage; they began to use haughty language. There was no bargaining with victorious troops, who were not responsible for the disgraceful result which their patrons had given to the war. These men of iron, always living in the midst of camps, where many of them were born, found themselves transported into the rich city of the sun (Baal), glittering with the luxury and strange arts of the East. There they found the tin of Britain, the copper of Italy, the silver of Spain, and the gold of Ophir, the incense of Saba, and the amber of the northern seas, the jacinth and the purple of Tyre, the ebony and ivory of Ethiopia, the spices and pearls of India, the shawls

¹ Frontinus, iii. 16.

² Diod. v.

of the nameless countries of Asia, a hundred kinds of precious articles mysteriously packed;¹ the statue of the sun, all of pure gold, with the plates of gold that covered its temple, weighing, we are told, a thousand talents—terrible desires arose in them. The Carthaginians tremblingly prayed the chiefs of the mercenaries to take them to Sicea, giving to each man a piece of gold to supply his most urgent wants. Their blindness went so far that they forced them to take away their wives and children whom they might have kept as hostages.²

There, inactive on the arid shore, and full of the image of the great city, they began to compute and to exaggerate what was due to them, and what they had been promised upon perilous occasions.³ Hanno, who was first sent to them, humbly told them that the republic could not keep its word; that it was overwhelmed with taxes, that in its destitution it demanded of them the remission of a portion of what was owing them. At these words a frightful tumult arose, with imprecations in ten languages. Each nation of the army flocked together, then all assembled in a mass, Spaniards, Gauls, Ligurians, Baleares, mongrel Greeks, Italian deserters, Africans more especially, the most numerous of all. There was no way of coming to an understanding. Hanno had them spoken to by their national chiefs; but these could not or would not understand properly, and perverted everything to the soldiers. There was nothing but uncertainty, equivocation, defiance, and cabal. Why send Hanno to them who had never seen them fight, and who knew nothing of the promises that had been made them? They marched towards Carthage to the number of twenty thousand men, and en-

¹ See as to the commerce of Asia, doubtless analogous with that of Carthage, Ezekiel, c. 27.

² Honorius, after the murder of Stilicho, massacred the families of his barbarian soldiers, whom he should have retained as hostages of their fidelity. We find infinite resemblances between the mercenaries in the service of Carthage, and of the successors of Alexander, the barbarians in the service of the Roman empire, the condottieri of the middle ages, and the armies in the thirty years' war.

³ So in the old chronicles of Italy, we find the mercenaries every now and then demanding *paga doppin e mese compiuta*, double pay and a complete month of it; that is, reckoned from the first day.

camped at Tunis, which was only four or five leagues from it.

The dismayed Carthaginians labouredⁿ to soothe them. They sent them all the provisions they wanted, at any price they chose. Every day came deputies from the senate to pray them to demand something specific, for they feared lest they should take all. Their audacity became boundless. When they had been promised their pay, they demanded indemnification for their horses that had been killed; then they demanded payment for provisions which were owing to them at the exorbitant price at which they were sold during the war; they afterwards made innumerable other demands, and the Carthaginians neither knew how to refuse nor to accede.

Gesco, one of their generals of Sicily, who had always taken their interest to heart, was delegated to them. He arrived at Tunis, well furnished with money, harangued them separately, and proposed to give them their pay by nations. This incomplete arrangement might, perhaps, have appeased all, when a certain Spendius, a Campanian, a fugitive slave of Rome, fearing that he should be sent back to his master, began to say and to do all he could to prevent the accommodation. An African, named Mathos, joined him, in the fear of being punished as one of the ringleaders of the insurrection. This man drew the Africans aside, and led them to suppose that when once the other nations were paid and disbanded, the Carthaginians would fall upon them, and punish them in order to frighten their fellow countrymen. Thereupon cries arose; if any one attempted to speak, they overwhelmed him with stones before they knew whether he was for or against. It was still worse after dinner, and when they had been drinking; in the midst of so many languages, only one word could be heard; that was *strike*; and the moment any one said *strike*, it was done so quickly that there was no escaping.

The unfortunate Gesco opposed them at the peril of his life. He ventured to answer the Africans who haughtily demanded provisions, with: "Go and ask them of Mathos." They then furiously threw themselves upon the money

brought by Gesco, and upon him and his Carthaginians, and loaded them with irons.

Every war that broke out in Africa, whether the enemy were Agathocles, Regulus, or the mercenaries, limited the empire of Carthage to her walls; in such detestation was her yoke held. In the first Punic war, they had doubled the tax of the cities, and exacted from the inhabitants of the rural districts the half of their revenues. A governor of a province, to gain credit at Carthage, had to be pitiless, to extract the uttermost from the subjects, and amass arms and provisions. Hanno was the man for the Carthaginians. The Africans united with the mercenaries to the number of seventy thousand. Even the women, who had so often seen their husbands and fathers dragged to prison for the payment of imposts, in every town took an oath among themselves to conceal none of their effects, and eagerly gave to the troops all they possessed in the way of furniture and apparel. Utica and Hippo Zarytes, which had at first hesitated, ended by massacring the soldiers whom the Carthaginians had there, and left them without burial. The same was done in Sardinia and Corsica. Hanno, whom they sent thither, was seized by his troops, who crucified him; some of the natives of the island called the Romans to their aid. That people profited by the distress of Carthage, took the two islands from her, and, moreover, threatened her with war, unless, to the stipulated tribute, she added twelve hundred Eubœan talents.

Meanwhile, the Carthaginians, being pressed closely in their city, the party of Barca, that of war, resumed the upper hand, and Hamilcar had the command of the troops. This skilful general contrived to gain over the Numidians, whose cavalry was so necessary in a flat country; they preferred the more lucrative service of Carthage, and from that time provisions began to fail the mercenaries; famine might bring about desertion; the politic humanity of Hamilcar with regard to prisoners might still further encourage it. The chiefs of the mercenaries called a council to discuss how to render impossible a reconciliation fatal to themselves; they assembled the army, introduced a pretended messenger from Sardinia,

with a letter exhorting them to watch closely Gesco and the other prisoners, to mistrust their secret practices in favour of the Carthaginians. Spendius, rising, remarks upon the perfidious gentleness of Hamilcar, and the danger of sending back Gesco. He is interrupted by another messenger, who says he comes from Tunis, and who brings a letter to the same effect as the first. Autarites, chief of the Gauls, declares that the only safety is in an irretrievable rupture with the Carthaginians; they who say otherwise are traitors; to prevent all accommodation they must kill Gesco, and all the prisoners made or to be made. This Autarites had the advantage of speaking the Phenician language, and thus making himself understood to the majority, for the length of the war was gradually making the Phenician the common language.

After Autarites, men of each nation spoke, who were under obligations to Gesco, and who demanded for him at least exemption from torture. As they all spoke together, and each in his own language, nothing could be heard. But the moment what they meant to say was understood, and some one had cried, "Kill them, kill them!" the unfortunate intercessors were stoned to death. They then seized Gesco and his people, to the number of seven hundred; they took them out of the camp; they cut off their hands and ears, broke their limbs, and threw them alive into a ditch. When Hamilcar sent to demand at least the bodies, the barbarians declared that any deputy should be treated in the same way; and proclaimed as a law, that "all Carthaginian prisoners should perish in torture, and that every ally of the Carthaginians should be sent back with his hands cut off." Then began fearful reprisals. Hamilcar had all the prisoners thrown to wild beasts. Carthage received aid from Hiero, and even from Rome, who began to dread the victory of the mercenaries. The Barcas and the Hannos, reconciled by danger, acted for the first time in concert. Hamilcar, driving the mercenaries from the plains with his Numidian cavalry, and forcing them to the mountains, succeeded in hemming in one of their two armies in a defile, where they could neither fly nor fight, and they were at last

reduced by famine to the horrible necessity of eating one another.

The prisoners and slaves were sacrificed first; but when that resource failed, Spendius, Autarites, and the other chiefs, menaced by the people, were obliged to demand a safeguard to seek Hamilcar. He did not refuse it, and he agreed with them that, with the exception of ten men of his own choice, he would send away all the others, letting each of them have a suit of clothes. The treaty signed, Hamilcar said to the envoys, "You are the ten;" and he retained them. The mercenaries were so entirely surrounded that not one was saved. The other army was not more fortunate; Hamilcar exterminated it in a great battle, and its chief, Mathos, taken to Carthage, was given up as a plaything to a base populace, who revenged themselves upon him for their fears.

In that sanguinary world of the successors of Alexander, in that age of iron, the war of the mercenaries still horrified all nations, Greeks and Barbarians, and it was called the *inexpiable war*. (238. B.C.)

When Carthage was delivered from the mercenaries, it was scarcely less embarrassed by the army that had conquered them, and her liberator, Hamilcar. This dangerous chief, who had been the indireet cause of the war, by promising to the army of Sicily more than the republic would fulfil, was called upon to give an account of his proceedings. He got clear of the matter, either by corruption, or by the intrigues of his friend, the young and beautiful Hasdrubal, the spoiled child of Carthage.¹ But they allowed him no rest; they gave him all sorts of mortification on the subject of his infamous morals²—an accusation truly absurd in such a city as Carthage. He then felt that he could only find repose in war. At this moment, there arose one amongst the Numidians. It was an opportunity to get him away; Carthage and Hamilcar parted for ever, and without regret. The republic saw, with pleasure, set out with him the men who had exterminated the mercenaries, and who at any time might be tempted to imitate them. He went to subdue—that is, to draw into his army, the barbarians of the coast of

¹ Appian, *Bello Hisp.*

² Nepos, *L. of Hamilcar*. Livy, xi. 1.

Africa, Numidians and Mauritians; all asked nothing better than to go, under a skilful and prodigal chief, to pillage rich Spain with its silver mines.

Carthage hoped that the Lusitanians or Celtiberians, would do her justice, both upon the friends of Hamilear, and upon the too warlike nomades of Africa; or, if by chance they should conquer, and form settlements in Spain, they would doubtless have need of the industry and the fleets of Carthage, and she would succeed to their conquests. Conquerors or conquered, they were equally serviceable to her.

In one year, that succeeding the war of the mercenaries, Hamilear traversed all the coasts of Africa, and passed into Spain.¹ He abridged the fruitless war which he might have made in the burning sands of the plains or in the gorges of Atlas. It was enough that their tribes respected *the punic courser*,² and that the general could write now to his people that he had extended the empire of the republic to the great ocean. Arrived in Spain, he found, at the head of the Celts, who inhabited the south-western point of the peninsula, two intrepid brothers, who were killed in the first battle. Indortes, who succeeded them, was defeated with fifty thousand men. Hamilear blinded and crucified the chief, and released ten thousand of the prisoners, wishing to terrify the barbarians and gain them at the same time.³ He thus subjugated all the western side of the peninsula which is washed by the ocean. At last, the natives thought of a stratagem for stopping their conqueror; they let loose against his army oxen drawing flaming chariots, which threw it into disorder. The African general was defeated and killed.

¹ Appian, *War of Hannib.*—Hanno says, in Livy, when the Romans required to have Hannibal delivered up to them: "Nor ought he only to be given up in atonement for the violated treaty; but even though no one demanded him, he ought to be transported to the extremest shores of earth or sea, and banished to a distance, whence neither his name nor any tidings of him can reach us, nor be able to disturb the peace of a tranquil country."—Livy, xxi. x.

² The horse was to Carthage what first the wolf, then the eagle, were to Rome.—See Serv. ad Virgil, *Æn.* i. 441, and the Carthaginian medals. This equestrian symbol would seem to indicate that the Lybian and continental emblem subsisted beside the Phœnician and maritime emblem.

³ Diod. xxv.

Hamilcar had always been careful to divide the booty he made as follows: he gave one part to the soldiers; another was sent to the treasury of Carthage; and a third served him to buy the influential citizens at home.¹ The latter, (whose interest it was that the war should continue), succeeded in giving him as his successor, his son-in-law, Hasdrubal, chief of the popular party. This young man, at one time, even hoped to become tyrant of Carthage. Having failed, he returned to Spain, and governed there without further consulting the senate of the Carthaginians.² There was such seduction in the language and manners of Hasdrubal, that he captivated many of the barbarian chiefs, and drew them under his yoke. He founded in the east of the peninsula, facing Africa, *new Carthage*, the future seat of his Spanish government, which he doubtless intended should become the rival of ancient Carthage and of Rome. An unforeseen blow stopped him in these projects. Hasdrubal had treacherously put to death a Lusitanian chief. After a lapse of many years, a Gallic slave of that chief revenged his master by killing Hasdrubal at the foot of the altar.

The army nominated a general for itself, whom Carthage willingly confirmed, to keep up an appearance of sovereignty. This was young Hannibal, the son of Hamilcar, then twenty-one years of age, whom Hasdrubal had had great trouble in obtaining from the Carthaginians while a child. They thought they recognised in this child the dangerous genius of his father. Having left Carthage at thirteen, a stranger to that city, nursed and brought up in the camp, formed to the rude warfare of Spain, amid the soldiers of Hamilcar, he began by being the best foot soldier and the best horseman in the army. All that was then known of strategy, tactics, of the secrets of conquering by force or by perfidy, he knew from his infancy. The son of Hamilcar was, as it were, born ready armed; he grew up in war, and for war.

Much inquiry has been made as to the morality of Hannibal, his religion, his good faith. All this has little to do with the chief of a mercenary army. Ask Sforza, ask Wallenstein. What could be the religion of a man brought

¹ Appian, *B. Hisp.*

² Polyb. iii.

up in an army, where there was every kind of worship, or perhaps none? The god of the *Condottieri* is blind force, it is chance; he willingly places on his shield the chessmen of Pepoli, or the dice of the sire de Hagenbach.¹ As to the faith and humanity of Carthage, they were notorious throughout the world, and the *inexpiable war* had just made them still better known. We must not look for a man in Hannibal; his glory consists of having been the most formidable machine of war spoken of by antiquity.

Hannibal, when old, related to king Antiochus that while he was quite a child on his father's knees, he caressed and coaxed him one day to be taken to Spain and see war. Hamilcar promised him to do so, on condition that, putting his hand on an altar, he would swear implacable hatred to the Romans.² From the moment that the death of the pacific Hasdrubal placed the young man at the head of the army, he meditated carrying the great projects of Hamilcar into execution. But before attacking Rome, it was necessary to be sure of the barbarians of the interior of Spain, as he already was of almost all those of the coasts. Three nations of the two Castilles (the Olcadi, the Carpetani, and the Vaccei) were forced by him into their strongest places, and conquered on the banks of the Tagus, to the number of an hundred thousand men. Not till then did he dare attack Saguntum, a city allied to the Romans (on the north of Valencia). According to Polybius, he thus commenced the war *against the wish of Carthage*;³

¹ As to Hagenbach, see Barante, *H. des ducs de Bourgogne*. The tombs of the illustrious family of Pepoli, dating back to 1300, are to be seen at Bologna. The family, illustrious before, has become still more so in the person of its present representative, count Pepoli, that martyr to the liberties of his country.

² Polyb. iii.

³ Livy (xxx. 21), relates that none of the more distinguished Carthaginians approved of the siege of Saguntum. "They (the Carthaginian ambassadors to Rome) addressed the senate in nearly the same terms as they had employed before Scipio; laying the whole blame of the war upon Hannibal, and exculpating their state. They declared, that he had not only crossed the Alps, but the Iberus also, without the sanction of the senate; and that he had made war not only on the Romans, but previously on the Saguntines also, on his own individual responsibility. That, if the question were viewed in its proper light, it would be found that the league between the senate and people of Carthage and the Romans remained unbroken up to that day."

and I believe that she would not with premeditated design engage in a war which would infallibly ruin her commerce and compromise her empire.

Corsica and Sardinia taken from Carthage, were a sufficient cause of war. But since that, Hasdrubal had made a treaty with Rome, according to which the Carthaginians could not make war north of the Ebro. Rome, however, had on the south of that river an ally whose neighbourhood was always threatening to Carthage; this was the rich city of Saguntum, which owed its foundation to the Greeks of Zacynthus and the Italians of Ardea. This origin is not improbable, as we find on the two shores Pelasgic buildings, and the formidable *falarica*, the javelin which was thrown red hot.¹

Polybius makes no mention of the heroic resistance of the Sagunti, who fought so long on the ruins of their city, and sought death in the flames, or in the battalions of the enemy. This city seems to have had against her the hatred of all the Spaniards, the friends of Hannibal. He had collected an hundred and fifty thousand men for this siege, while he armed only eighty thousand against Rome.

During the long resistance of Saguntum, deputies from Rome landed in Spain to expostulate with Hannibal. The African sent word to them that he would not advise them to risk their lives among so many battalions in arms, to get to his camp, and that for himself he had something else to do than listen to the harangues of ambassadors. The deputies went to Carthage, and demanded that Hannibal should be given up to them, as though it had been in the power of the republic to do so, even had she been willing. Meanwhile, Saguntum had succumbed. A fresh deputation came to ask the Carthaginians if it was with their consent that Hannibal had destroyed this city. They, ashamed to own that Hannibal revenged them despite themselves, answered: "That question only concerns us: the only point upon which you can demand explanation is with regard to treaties; that which Hasdrubal concluded with you, he made without being authorized." Then Quintus Fabius, raising a flap

¹ Livy, xxi. 9.—See also the conjectures of the learned Petit-Radel, as to the Pelasgic origin of a great many of the towns of Spain.

of his toga, said, "I bring you war or peace; choose." The Carthaginians, divided between fear and hatred, cried, "Choose yourself." He let fall his toga, and replied, "I give you war." "We accept it," they said, "and we shall know how to maintain it."¹

Meanwhile, Hannibal had begun his march into Italy. Of the rich spoils of Saguntum he sent the moveables to Carthage, gave the prisoners to the soldiers, and kept the money for the use of the expedition. He had gained the affection of his army by gorging it with wealth. He was sure that none of his Spaniards would abandon so lucrative a service; so sure, indeed, was he, that he did not fear to allow them to return home for a time to deposit their booty. At the same time that he sent for Moors and Numidians, he dispatched fifteen thousand of his Spaniards into Africa, who were either to protect Carthage from a Roman invasion, or to make her fear a new war of mercenaries, if she thought of making peace with Rome at the expense of Hannibal. He left sixteen thousand men in Spain under the orders of his brother Hasdrubal.

It was, however, extraordinary boldness, his undertaking to penetrate into Italy, through so many barbarous nations, so many rapid streams, over those Pyrenees and those Alps whose eternal snows no regular army had ever crossed. For the century that had elapsed since Alexander followed in India the steps of Hercules and Bacchus, no enterprise had been so calculated to exalt and affright the imagination of men. And it was also the traces of Hercules that Hannibal went to find in the Alps. But whatever the difficulties of the land route into Italy, he would not solicit fleets of Carthage, or put himself under her dependence. Besides, it suited him to pass through those barbarous nations, full of the distrust which the great Italian city and the rumour of its wealth inspired. He hoped to lead against her the Gauls of both sides of the Alps,² as he led the Spaniards, and to give to

¹ Polyb. iii. Livy, xxi. 18.

² The Romans thought thus of the affair: "Along with them he was bringing the numerous tribes of Spain which he had roused to this expedition; that he would excite the nations of Gaul, ever eager for strife; that a war against the world was to be maintained in Italy and for the walls of Rome."—Livy, xxi. 16.

this war the impetuosity and the grandeur of an universal invasion of the barbarians of the west, as, at a later period, Mithridates undertook to urge upon Rome those of the east, and as at last the Alarics and the Theodorics overthrew her with those of the north.

CHAPTER V.

The mercenaries in Italy—Hannibal, 218-203.

To open a new route to the human race was, in the eyes of the ancients, the most heroic of all enterprises. The Germanic Hercules, the Siegfried of the Niebelungen, "traversed many countries," says the poet, "by the force of his arm." War alone opened the world in antiquity. But for a road to be durable, it is necessary that it should supply wants less transitory than those of war. Alexander, in opening Persia and India to the commerce of Greece, founded more cities than he had destroyed. The Greeks and the Phenicians opened the coasts of the Mediterranean, which since, taken by the Romans into their empire, as an additional military road, has become the great path of Christian civilization. Thus the roads traced by warriors, and followed by merchants, gradually facilitate the commerce of ideas, favour the sympathies of nations, and aid them in recognising the fraternity of the human race. Accordingly, I own I have followed, with tenderness and respect, this route opened by Hannibal, founded by the Romans, restored by the French, that sublime road of the Alps, which prepares and figures forth, at the same time, the future union of two nations so dear to me.

In his march of nine thousand stadia from Carthagena to the frontiers of Italy, Hannibal desired two things, one of which rendered the other difficult of attainment: to open for himself, by good will or by force, a rapid passage, in order to anticipate the preparations of Rome, and, by a good understanding with the natives, to establish

lasting communications between Spain and Italy. He had beforehand procured all the necessary information as to the dispositions of the barbarous chiefs, as well as concerning their strength. He carried a large quantity of money to distribute among them, and to buy their unstable friendship, without reckoning a rich fund of cunning words, familiar to the Carthaginians. Yet, in the passage of the Ebro, he was harassed by them, reduced to the necessity of fighting them daily, often even to force their villages, and to leave eleven thousand men to keep them in check. He did not any the less persist in employing conciliatory means. In the passage of the Pyrenees there were three thousand Spaniards who were unwilling to leave their country, or to seek with Hannibal those Alps of which they had heard so many affrighting accounts. Far from being incensed against them, he sent back seven thousand more. (218.)

As he left the defiles of the Pyrenees, he met all the mountaineers in arms. He sent word to their chiefs that he wished to confer with them; that a personal interview would explain everything; that it was not an enemy but a guest who arrived; that he did not fear to visit them, if they hesitated to visit him. The barbarians, reassured, came, and received presents. It was agreed, that when the soldiers of Carthage did wrong to the natives, Hannibal or his lieutenants would judge them; but accusations against the natives were to be judged without appeal by the wives of the latter.¹ Among the Iberian nations, as among those of Germany, the women, less passionate than their fiery husbands, were loaded with marks of respect, and often invoked in disputes, as a sacred power of wisdom and reflection.

The Iberian tribes might well come to an agreement with the Africans, connected with them by manners, and perhaps by language. But it was only with hostile astonishment that the Gauls saw the black men of the south, those monstrous elephants, those fantastical arms and dresses. The difference was too marked for the fair children of the north, of blue eyes and milky

¹ Plut. on the virtues of women.—*Polyæn.* vii. 50.]

complexions. The great tribe of the Volks did not wait for the Carthaginian army; they abandoned the open country, and retired behind the Rhone, to a camp entrenched by the river.

It was necessary, in the presence of an hostile army, to pass this boisterous river, which receives the waters of twenty-two others, and whose current traverses a lake of eighteen leagues across, without losing any of its impetuosity. In two days, Hannibal conciliated the natives who had remained on this side the Rhone, bought boats of them, made them construct canoes and rafts, and, sending over the river, a little higher up, Hanno, the son of Bomilcar, he placed the camp of the Volks between two dangers. At the moment the signals lighted by Hanno became visible, the embarkation commenced. Large boats, placed above in the current, served to break it; the horse soldiers entered them, holding the bridles of the horses which swam: there were other horses on board, all bridled, and ready to charge the barbarians; the elephants were on an immense raft, covered with earth. As for the Spaniards, they had boldly passed with Hanno, upon skins and bucklers; the Gauls had already begun their war-song, and were waving their arms over their heads, when they saw their camp all in flames behind them. Some ran to save their wives and children; others remained, and were soon scattered.

Meanwhile, the Romans, who still thought Hannibal was in the Pyrenees, learned that he was on the Rhone. The consul P. Corn. Scipio hastily disembarked at Marseilles, and sent, as scouts, three hundred horsemen, guided by Marseillaise. Hannibal, with the same view, had dispatched five hundred Numidians. The Italians had the advantage, and thence presaged a happy issue of the war. Hannibal, by the advice of the Boii of Italy, who had sent him one of their kings, decided upon avoiding the Roman army, in order to pass the Alps before the season rendered them impassable, and for four days he re-ascended the Rhone as high as the Isere.

Upon entering that cold and gloomy vestibule of the Alps, which the ancients called the country of the Allobroges, and of which poor Savoy forms part, one is struck at seeing how the form and power of all things—trees, men,

and cattle—diminish. Nature seems to benumb and contract herself as on the approach of winter; she is, for a long time, mean and deformed, before becoming imposing and terrible. As he went from the Rhone to these mountains, Hannibal was made arbitrator between two brothers who disputed the royalty; he decided in favour of the eldest, according to the advice of the old men of the nation, and received, from his new friend, clothes, of which his Africans were now so much in need.

At last, the glaciers were seen above the black fir trees. It was the end of October, and the roads already began to be hidden by snow. When the men of the south saw this fearful desolation of winter, their courage failed them. Hannibal asked them if they supposed there were lands that could touch heaven? Whether the deputies from the Boii of Italy, who were in their camp, had had wings to cross the Alps? Whether the Gauls had not formerly crossed the same mountains, with women and children?

To crown their terror, they saw the peaks covered with mountaineers, waiting to crush the army. There was no other pass. On one side were steep rocks, on the other bottomless precipices. Hannibal broke up his camp, and, having learned that the mountaineers were retiring for the night into their villages, before day he passed them in the profoundest silence, and, with light infantry, occupied the heights which they had quitted. The rest of the army was, however, attacked. The barbarians, accustomed to laugh at the steepest descents, threw it into frightful disorder, both by their appearance, and by their savage cries, which resounded echo after echo. The horses reared; the men slipped; all clashed together, dragging one another down. The soldiers, the horses, the leaders of the beasts of burden, rolled into the abysses. Hannibal was obliged to descend to drive away the mountaineers.

Further on, the deputies of a numerous tribe met him, with offers of provisions, guides, and hostages. Hannibal feigned to confide in them, and only took greater precautions. When he arrived at a narrow road, commanded by the steeps of a high mountain, the barbarians attacked him on all sides at once, intersected the army, and succeeded for a whole night in separating the cavalry from the

baggage. Less harassed after this, in nine days Hannibal reached the summit of the Alps.

After remaining encamped for two days, Hannibal put himself at the head of his army, and, arrived at a kind of promontory commanding an immense view, made his soldiers halt. He showed them Italy, and the magnificent basin of the Po and the Alps. "In passing the ramparts of Italy," he said to them, "they are the very walls of Rome that you scale;" and he showed them, with his finger, in the distance, the quarter where Rome stood. I cannot resist quoting, by the side of the words of Hannibal, those inspired in the greatest general of modern times by an analogous situation. "The arrival of the French army on the heights Montezemoto was a sublime spectacle. Thence were visible the immense and fertile plains of Piedmont. The Po, the Tanaro, and numerous other rivers wound in the distance. A belt, white with snow and ice, of a prodigious height, surrounded this rich basin of the promised land, in the horizon. Those gigantic barriers, which were the limits of another world, which nature had been pleased to make so formidable, and on which art had expended her utmost efforts, had fallen as by enchantment. 'Hannibal forced the Alps,' said the French general, fixing his eye on those mountains, 'but we turned them.'"¹

The Italian descent of the Alps is much steeper and shorter than the other. There were nothing but narrow and slippery inclined planes that they scarcely dared descend, groping with the feet and hanging by the bushes. They suddenly found themselves stopped by a land-slip which formed a precipice of a thousand feet high. There was no means either of going forwards or backwards; fresh snow had fallen upon that of the preceding winter. The first, trampled by so many men, melted upon the other, and formed a mass of ice; the men could not support themselves, the beasts of burden broke through the ice, and there remained, fast as in a trap. A road had to be cut in the solid rock by iron and fire.²

He thus descended into Italy five months after his departure from Carthagera; the passage of the Alps had cost him fifteen days. His army was reduced to twenty-

¹ Mem. de Napoleon, *Campagne d'Italie*.

² Appendix XXVIII.

six thousand men—namely, eight thousand Spanish foot soldiers, twelve thousand Africans, and six thousand horse soldiers, most of them Numidians; he had the enumeration engraved on a column near the Lacinian promontory.¹ This small number of men was in a hideous state of emaciation and rags. The elephants and horses were so pinched with hunger that they could scarcely stand. He had, he himself said to the historian Cincius, his prisoner, lost six thousand men from the passage of the Rhone to his arrival in Italy.²

When we compare this handful of men which remained to him, with the forces that Rome could bring against him, the enterprise of Hannibal seems more daring than that of Alexander. We have in Polybius, Book III., an enumeration of the troops that the different nations of Italy held at the disposal of the Romans, seven years before, when they expected a general invasion of the Gauls. "The numbers that were severally enrolled in the public registers were as follow: Among the Latins, eighty thousand foot, and seven hundred horse. Among the Samnites, seventy thousand foot, and seven thousand horse. Iapyginians and Mesapyginians sent the names of fifty thousand foot, and sixteen thousand horse; the Lucanians, thirty thousand foot, and three thousand horse. The Marsians, Marucini, Ferentinians, brought twenty thousand foot, and four thousand horse. In Sicily, and at Tarentum, there were also two legions, each of which contained four thousand and two hundred horse. The number of the Romans and Campanians, enrolled together, were two hundred and fifty thousand foot, and twenty-three thousand horse. Thus the armies that were disposed abroad upon the several frontiers, consisted of near a hundred and fifty thousand foot, with about seven thousand horse; and the entire number of those that were capable of bearing arms, both among the Romans and their allies, were seven hundred thousand foot, and seventy thousand horse."³

It must be observed, that all these nations ready to rise *en masse* to repel the invasion of the Gauls, were not equally ready to oppose Hannibal, who presented himself as the liberator of Italy.

¹ Polyb. iii.

² Livy, xxi. 38.

³ I suspect there is much exaggeration in these details.

The first plan of the senate had been to carry the war into Africa, to send a second army into Spain, and a third into Cisalpine Gaul. The rapidity of Hannibal's movements obliged Rome to recal the first army from Sicily. The Boii and the Insubres driven to the last extremity by the foundation of the two new colonies of Placentia and Cremona, thrown between them on the course of the Po, had beaten the prætor Manlius in a forest near Mutina (Modena). They found that they had themselves acquired that independence which they had only hoped to recover by calling in Hannibal.

Accordingly, when he descended the Alps with an army attenuated by hunger and fatigue, none of his allies met him to give him reinforcements or provisions. The first Gauls he encountered were the Taurini, the enemies of the Insubres. He took, and sacked their principal town, to endeavour to throw terror into the minds of the Gauls. None moved to his aid as yet, and the Roman army had arrived under Scipio. Hannibal, instead of concealing from his men the danger of their situation, laid it clearly open to them. He formed the army in a circle, and sent for some young mountain prisoners whom he had purposely left to suffer from hunger and blows. He placed before them arms, like those used by their kings in single combat, horses, rich Gallic robes, and he proposed that they should fight together for the prizes; the conquerors should be free, and the conquered would be freed by death. All bounded with joy, and hastened to arms. Hannibal then turned towards his men: "You see a picture of yourselves," he said. "Shut in between the Po, the Alps, and the two seas, you must fight. You know the road we have gone since we left Carthage; so many battles, mountains, and rivers! Who would be mad enough to hope that by flying he will ever see his country again? Hitherto, crossing the desert mountains of Celtiberia and Lusitania, you have had scarcely any booty except cattle. Here, the price of battle is rich Italy—it is Rome. All will be yours, body and possessions." And he promised to establish them, according to their own choice, in Italy, Spain, or Africa—even to make them citizens of Carthage, if they wished it.

This last promise, which, perhaps, indicated a grand project on the part of Hannibal, was the most effective incentive to the cupidity of the mercenaries. He then took a stone, crushed the head of a lamb, and cried: "So may the gods crush me if I fail in my promise."¹

The first encounter was favourable to him. In a reconnoitring expedition Hannibal and Scipio themselves prosecuted on the banks of the Tesino, the brave soldiers of Scipio were beaten by the Numidians, whose horses, swift as lightning, had neither saddle nor bit. The consul, who was wounded, was saved by a Ligurian slave. Other historians have thought it more effective to give the honour of this episode to the young son of Scipio, then a boy of fifteen, who has enough glory in having conquered Hannibal, and terminated the second Punic war.

Scipio retired beyond the Po and the Trebia, abandoning the lands of the Gauls, who remained faithful to the Romans, to depredation. But the other consul, Sempronius, more affected by the misfortunes of the allies and the honour of Rome, passed the Trebia, swollen by the melting of the snow, and threw a hungry and benumbed army into the ambush where Hannibal waited for it. The Gauls of the Roman army were crushed by the elephants; the Romans themselves were surrounded. They left thirty thousand men on the field of battle, while Hannibal had lost but very few Gauls, and scarcely a single Spaniard or African.

The victory of the Trebia gave all the Gauls as auxiliaries to the Carthaginian general. His army was at once increased to ninety thousand men. Knowing the instability of the barbarians, he was desirous of making use of the moment to pass into Etruria, and present himself as a liberator to the Etruscans, the Samnites, the Campanians, the Greeks, and to all the nations so harshly treated by Rome. He sent away all the allies of Rome, free and without ransom; while the Romans themselves he kept in confinement, scarcely giving them the necessities of life, and loading them with insult and abuse.² But it was not easy to pass the Apennines during winter;

¹ Polyb. ii. Livy, xxi. 45.

² Polyb. iii.

he was received there by one of those cold hurricanes which then frequently arise in the mountains.

He was therefore forced to pass the winter in the mire of Cisalpine Gaul,¹ amidst a nation who had hoped to enrich itself by following Hannibal into the south, and whose provisions were exhausted by his army. Their impatience became so great, that their chiefs more than once conspired to kill him. To deceive the assassins, it occurred to him to change his dress and harness every day, disguising himself even with false hair, and appearing sometimes as a young man, at other times like an old man or a middle-aged man. These surprises had an effect on the changeable and superstitious mind of the barbarians.²

In the month of March, (217), he passed the Apennines, and directed his course towards Arretium, by the shortest road. This route crossed marshes which spread in great extent over the country, through the overflowing of the Arno in the spring. For four days and three nights³ the soldiers of Hannibal marched up to the middle in mud and water. In front went the old Spanish and African bands, treading on tolerably firm ground; the Gauls, who came next, slipped or sank into the mud. These men, effeminate and easily discouraged, were seen dropping with fatigue and sleepiness, but behind came the Numidians, urging them on with their sword points. Numbers began to despair, and falling upon the heaps of baggage, or on piles of dead bodies, there waited for death. Hannibal himself, mounted on the last elephant that remained, lost one of his eyes from the fatigue of watching and the dampness of the nights.

The consul Flaminius impatiently awaited him under the towers of Arretium. Meanwhile numerous prodigies were related, which threatened misfortune to the Romans. A shower of stones fell in Picenum; in Gaul, a wolf had seized and carried away the sword of a sentinel. In the old Etruscan town of Cœre, the characters made use of in the answers of the oracle, had suddenly become smaller. Ears of corn fell bleeding under the sickle; the coasts glittered with a thousand fires.

¹ Polyb. iii.

² Id. *ib.* Appian, *Hannib.* c. 316; Livy, xxii. l.

³ Livy, *ut sup.*

Flaminius, thinking these accounts mere artifices of the patricians to keep him at Rome, had secretly set out for the army, without consulting either the senate or the auspices. Hannibal profited by his ardour to draw him between the lake Thrasymenus and the heights of which he was master.¹ This valley could only be entered by a narrow causeway. The Romans blindly passed it amidst the damp mists of morning. Hannibal, who from the heights saw them without being seen by them, had them taken in the rear by the Numidians, and charged them on all sides at once. The fury of the combatants was so terrible, that at the very moment an earthquake might have destroyed cities, overturned mountains, and turned back rivers, without any of them perceiving it.

Hannibal passed into Umbria, in vain attacked the Roman colony of Spoletium, and finding no city declare in his favour, feared marching towards Rome. He retired to Picenum, to refresh his army in that country, so rich and fertile in grain. Hunger, fatigue, the mud of Gaul, and especially the passage of the marshes of Etruria, had spread horrible diseases of the skin among his troops. The horses also, the precious horses of Africa, had suffered greatly; they washed them with old wine.² The attachment of the African to his faithful companion of the desert is well known. It is, moreover, a particular feature in the character of the mercenary soldier, without family and without friends.

Meanwhile the aristocratic party, the party who desire no battle, and who preferred abandoning the allies to pillage, had prevailed in Rome, through the terror caused by the defeat of Thrasymenus. The cold and prudent Fabius had been nominated prodictator. He began by appeasing the gods, irritated by Flaminius; their statues were placed at the tables of a solemn banquet (*lectisternium*); they promised them games which should cost three hundred thousand three hundred and thirty-three and a third pounds of copper; lastly they vowed to them a *sacred spring*.³

¹ To the present day, the name of an adjacent brook recalls to mind the carnage of which this spot was the theatre.—Simon, *Voyage*, 1.

² Polyb. iii.

³ Ibid.

Fabius, feeling the need of reassuring the troops, kept constantly on the heights, and left Hannibal to ravage at his ease the lands of the Marsi, the Peligni, Apulia, Samnium, and Campania. The Roman army, going from height to height, *concealed in the clouds, under the shade of woods, like a flock in summer, led to feed in the mountains*,¹ saw from a distance the burning of the beautiful districts of its allies, of Falernii, and of the Roman colony of Sinuessa; the smoke reached them, and they thought they heard the cries; nothing could persuade the phlegmatic patrician to descend and fight. The indignation of the army was at its height; Rome shared it. There was good reason to suspect Fabius. The enemy spared his lands while ravaging all the others. He had taken upon himself to exchange prisoners without the authority of the senate. He had allowed Hannibal to escape when surrounded in Campania; and the stratagem that saved the Carthaginians seemed utterly gross. Two thousand oxen, carrying flaming faggots at their horns, let loose at night in the mountain, alarmed the Romans, and made them abandon the defiles. The people, it must be owned, had a right to suspect either the ability or the probity of Fabius. They gave equal powers to his lieutenant, Minutius. Fabius wished that, instead of commanding alternate days, as was the custom of the consuls,² the army should be divided into two. Minutius, become too weak by this partition, ventured to attack Hannibal, and he would have perished, had not Fabius come to his aid. The Carthaginian smiled and said: "The cloud which covered the mountain has then at last broken, and sent forth rain and thunder!"

The rest of the year they followed this disgraceful system of procrastination, which perhaps, however, was the only one practicable with discouraged soldiers³ against the best army and the first general in the world. But the sentiment of national honour at last spoke louder than

¹ Livy, xxii. 10.

² Polyb. iii.

³ Hannibal called Fabius his *pedagogue*, a term which in its etymological acceptation implies the idea of one who is leading a child about, rather than of a master who is instructing one.

prudence and interest. Thus to abandon without protection allies and even Roman colonies, would have been to force them over to the side of Hannibal; the empire of Rome would soon have been reduced to her walls. The popular party, as we have always found to have been the case, sympathized more with the Italians. The people elevated to the consular dignity the orator who had spoken with the greatest warmth in favour of the allies. M. Terentius Varro, from a servile trade, had become, by his eloquence, quæstor, edile, and prætor. The son of a butcher, employed at first by his father in serving and carrying about meat,¹ he was an object of contempt to the patricians. Why, however, should a butcher not save Rome, as the butchers at Bearne saved the Swiss at Laupen?² It must be owned that the unfortunate Varro, like Sempronius, Flaminius, and Minutius, defended the side of honour. With eighty thousand men against fifty thousand, the Romans could not abandon their allies without disgrace. It was worthy of them to fight at Cannæ and at Thrasymenus. "No, Athenians," said Demosthenes, "no, you did not fail at Chæronea. I swear it by those who conquered at Marathon."³

The patricians, to oppose one of their body to Varro, raised to the consulship Paulus Æmilius, the pupil and friend of the *procrastinator*. The opposition of the two generals lost the republic. One wished to give Hannibal battle, without watching for time or place; the other, at the decisive moment, discouraged the army by declaring, as a patrician and an augur, that the sacred fowls refused to eat, and thus condemned the battle.⁴ The situation of Hannibal might, indeed, induce him to defer it. At the end of two years he had not a town, not a fortress, in Italy. Carthage, giving him no succour, had contented herself by sending, at the commencement of the war, a miserable expedition of thirty galleys to raise Sicily, while twenty others ravaged the coasts of Italy. Most of the Gauls had gradually quitted Hannibal, to return home and place their booty in safety. Not having taken any towns,

¹ Livy, xxii. 26.

² Muller, *Hist. of Switzerland*, ii. 3.

³ *De Coronâ*, c. 60.

⁴ Livy, xxii.

he had no money; without money, what is the chief of a mercenary army? He had only corn left for ten days. An historian even pretends that he had intended to fly towards the north of Italy.¹

In the immense plain of Cannæ, there was nothing to fear in the way of ambuscade, as at the Trebia and at Thrasymentus; and yet here, as there, it was the smaller number that surrounded the larger. Hannibal had taken the precaution of placing himself with his back to the wind and dust, a thing so important in those arid plains. The Romans were blinded by both. The Spanish and Gallic infantry fell back upon the African, as they had been ordered, and the Romans rushing to pursue it between the two victorious wings of Hannibal, found themselves, as at Thrasymentus, taken in a kind of net. At the same time there arose in the rear of the Roman army five hundred Numidians, who had entered it as fugitives, apparently without arms, but with poniards under their clothes.² In this terrible crisis, Paulus ordered the horse soldiers to dismount, according to the old Italian custom, and fight on foot. When Hannibal was told that it was the consul who had given the order: "He might as well," said he, "have delivered them to me, bound hand and foot." Paulus fell on the field of battle with fifty thousand men, his two quæstors, twenty-one tribunes, nearly an hundred senators, and numberless knights. Hannibal gained this great victory with the blood of the Gauls,³ of whom he lost four thousand; of Spaniards and Africans, but fifteen hundred.

At the news of such a defeat, all thought that Rome was lost; the south of Italy abandoned her. The young patricians already thought of seeking vessels to fly beyond the seas.⁴ The officers of Hannibal thought that there was now nothing to do but to march upon Rome. The impetuous Maharbal said to the Carthaginian general: "Let me advance with my cavalry; in five days you must sup in the Capitol." Hannibal did not choose to explain himself, but he knew Rome was not to be taken so. More than eighty leagues off, she had time to put

¹ Livy, xxii.

² Appian, *Hannib.* i. v. c. 326.

³ Polyb. iii.

⁴ Livy, *ut sup.*

herself in a state of defence. In the city and the environs there were more than fifty thousand soldiers; and all the people were soldiers. Deducting the dead and wounded, the Carthaginians could scarcely have more than twenty-six thousand men. All those nations who had declared themselves his friends, — Samnites, Lucanians, Brutii, Greeks, — took no pains to augment a barbarian army, whose language they did not understand, and whose manners they held in detestation. It was generally rumoured in Italy that, at need, the soldiers of Hannibal fed upon human flesh.¹ The Italians quitted the side of Rome only so far as no longer to recruit her armies, and no longer to take part in the war. Thus, Hannibal was so weak after his victory that, having need of a port facing Spain, he attacked the little town of Naples, and could not take it. He met with no better success before Nola, Acerræ, and Nuceira. Everywhere he found the Romans as strong as before their defeat.

“Rome exhibited the most marvellous firmness. After the battles of the Tesino, of Trebia, and of Thrasymentus, after that still more deplorable defeat of Cannæ, abandoned by nearly all the peoples of Italy, she made no demand for peace . . . Rome was saved by the force of its institutions. After the battle of Cannæ, not even the women were permitted to weep; the senate refused to redeem the prisoners, and sent the miserable wreck of the defeated army to fight in Sicily, until Hannibal should be expelled from Italy.

“On the other hand, the consul Terentius Varro² had disgracefully fled to Venusia; this man, of the lowest birth, had only been raised to the consulship for the purpose of mortifying the nobles. Yet the senate would not take advantage of this so unfortunate triumph; they saw how necessary it was on this occasion to conciliate the

¹ Polyb. *Ext.* C. Porphyrii, Livy, xxiii. 5.

² This Varro, so stigmatized by Montesquieu and many historians, at all events retained dignity amid his misfortunes. The people were so well persuaded of his innocence, that they were desirous of again elevating him to command. After the battle of Cannæ, the unhappy man always wore his beard long, telling those who proffered him their suffrages, to give public employment to more fortunate generals.—Fonteninus, *Stratagemata*.

confidence of the people, and they went to Varro, and thanked him for not having *despaired of the republic*.

“Generally speaking, it is not the material loss incurred in a battle (the few thousand soldiers) that is so injurious to a state; it is the imaginary loss, the moral discouragement, which deprives it of the force which fortune has left it.”¹

Hannibal, too weak to attack the centre of Italy with advantage, took up his winter quarters at Capua. Of the two great cities of the south, Capua and Tarentum, the second was still occupied by a Roman garrison; the other, encouraged by the defeat of Cannæ, demanded of the Romans that henceforth, of the two consuls, one should be a Campanian. The Capuans then seized all the Romans in the city, and smothered them in the stoves of the baths, which were very plentiful in this voluptuous city. It was the chief of the popular party of Capua, Pacuvius, allied to the most illustrious patricians of Rome, son-in-law of an Appius Claudius, father-in-law of a Livy,² who introduced Hannibal into Capua. He had great need of a sojourn in this wealthy city to refresh his soldiers a little, and to cure his wounds. Perhaps, also, the soldiers of Hannibal called to mind his promises, and wished at last for some repose. The veterans of Hamilcar, those who yet remained, after the passage of the Alps and so many battles, doubtless thought they ought to taste the fruits of conquest for an instant before their death. To fight, and to enjoy, is the life of a mercenary soldier. The chief of such an army often follows it, while seeming to lead it. It is said that the stay at Capua corrupted this army. But the conquerors of Cannæ, now become rich, would have found a Capua everywhere. Hannibal could not, like Alexander, set fire to the baggage of his soldiers. Moreover, this place of rest suited him; it was within bow-shot both of Casilium, which he was besieging, and of the sea whence he expected aid. From it he could seek new enemies against the Romans, and excite the whole world against them. “If I am asked,” says Polybius,

¹ Montesquieu, *Grand. et Decad. des Romains*, c. 4.

² Livy, *ut sup.*

“who were the soul of all that was then passing at Rome and Carthage, it was Hannibal. In Italy, he did everything himself; in Spain, by Hasdrubal, his brother, and by Mago. It was these two generals who defeated the Roman generals in Spain. It was under the orders of Hannibal that Hippocrates, and afterwards the African Mutto, acted in Sicily. It was Hannibal who raised to insurrection Illyria and Greece, and who formed a treaty of alliance with Philip, in order to alarm the Romans and divide their forces.”¹

The first hope of Hannibal, his natural support, was Spain. He had left his brother, and his lieutenants there; he reckoned upon incessantly drawing thence fresh recruits. It was for this reason that he had with so much trouble marked out a route from the Pyrenees to the Alps. But the war in Italy was too far distant to allow of the barbarians being easily drawn into it. This war could not be national to men who scarcely knew the Romans, and who had not yet experienced their tyranny. They had, however, felt that of the Carthaginians, their rapacity, the severity with which they levied men to send them beyond the Alps into an unknown world. That hatred which Hannibal found everywhere in Italy against Rome, the two Scipios found in Spain against the lieutenants of Hannibal. The Celtiberians had already cut fifteen thousand Carthaginians to pieces.² The Scipios were already gaining brilliant victories; and Hasdrubal, detained by them, could not pass into Italy.

It was necessary, therefore, that Hannibal should turn to Carthage. Mago, his brother, poured out in the vestibule of the senate a bushel of gold rings taken from the Roman knights and senators.

This striking proof of the losses of Rome, and of the success of Hannibal, only augmented the mistrust of the Carthaginians. Without expressing his fears, Hanno, the chief of the party opposed to the Barcas, contented himself by saying: “If Hannibal exaggerates his success, he deserves no aid; if he is a conqueror, he needs none.”

¹ Polyb., *Examp. of Virtues and Vices*.

² Livy, xxii. 21.

However, they sent him money, four thousand Numidians, and forty elephants. A commissioner of the senate¹ was associated with Mago to levy in Spain twenty thousand foot soldiers and four thousand horse.

The policy of Carthage was merely to nourish war. Hannibal once master of Spain and Italy,² what would remain for him to do but to subject Carthage?

So ill supported by his country and by Spain, Hannibal turned his eyes towards the Greek world, towards Syracuse and Macedonia. Hiero persisted in his alliance with the Romans, and had even sent them after Cannæ a Victory of massive gold, weighing three hundred pounds; but the impending death of the old man was soon to open Sicily to the intrigues of the enemy of Rome. As for the king of Macedonia, the anxiety caused him by the Romans, become his neighbours through the conquest of Illyria, made him determine to unite with the Carthaginians.

"The solemn treaty which Hannibal the general, Mago, Myrean, Barmocar, and all the senators of Carthage that

¹ The same as the proveditores, whom the senate of Venice set to watch over their fleets and armies.

"In what danger would not the republic of Carthage have been, had Hannibal made himself master of Rome? What would not he have done in his own country, had he been victorious, he who caused so many revolutions in it after his defeat?"

"Hanno could never have dissuaded the senate from sending aid to Hannibal, had he used no other argument than his own jealousy. The Carthaginian senate, whose wisdom is so highly extolled by Aristotle, (and which has been evidently proved by the prosperity of that republic) could never have been determined by other than solid reasons. They must have been stupid not to see, that an army at the distance of three hundred leagues would necessarily be exposed to losses, which required reparation.

"Hanno's party insisted that Hannibal should be delivered up to the Romans. They could not at that time be apprehensive of the Romans; they were therefore afraid of Hannibal.

"It was impossible, some will say, for them to imagine that Hannibal had been so successful. But how was it possible for them to doubt of it? Could the Carthaginians, a people spread over all the earth, be ignorant of what was transacting in Italy? No: they were sufficiently acquainted with it, and for that reason they did not care to send supplies to Hannibal.

"Hanno became more resolute after the battle of Trebia, after the battle of Thrasymenus, after that of Cannæ; it was not his incredulity that increased, but his fear."—Montesquieu, *Spirit of Laws*, x. 6.

were with him, and all the Carthaginians that are in the army with him, have concluded with Xenophanes the son of Cleomachus, the ambassador deputed by king Philip, the son of Demetrius, in his own name, and in the name of the Macedonians and their allies.

“In the presence of Jupiter, Juno, and Apollo; in the presence of the deity of the Carthaginians, and of Hercules and Iolaus; in the presence of Mars, Triton, and Neptune; in the presence of all the gods who are with us in the camp, and of the sun, the moon, and the earth; in the presence of the rivers, the lakes, and the waters; in the presence of all the gods who preside over the state of Carthage; in the presence of all the gods who preside over the Macedonian empire, and the rest of Greece; in the presence of all the gods who direct the affairs of war, and who are present at this treaty; Hannibal the general, and all the senators of Carthage that are with him, and all the Carthaginians that are in the army with him, have said.

“With the consent of you and of us, this treaty of amity and concord shall connect us together, as friends, as kindred, and as brothers, upon the following conditions:

“King Philip and the Macedonians, together with the rest of the Greeks that are in alliance with him, shall protect the lords of Carthage; Hannibal the general, and those that are with him; the governors in every place in which the laws of Carthage are observed; the people of Utica, and all the cities and nations that are subject to the Carthaginian sway, together with their armies and their allies; the cities likewise, and all the people with whom we are allied, in Italy, in Gaul, and in Liguria; and all those that shall hereafter enter into an alliance with us in those countries. The Carthaginians, on the other hand, the people of Utica, and all other cities and states that are subject to the Carthaginians, with their allies and armies; the cities also, and all the people of Italy, of Gaul, and of Liguria, that are at this time in alliance with us; and all others likewise that shall hereafter be received into our alliance in any of these parts of Italy; shall protect and defend king Philip and the Mace-

donians, together with the rest of the Greeks that are in alliance with them. We will not engage in any ill designs, or employ any kind of treachery, the one against the other. But with all alacrity and willingness, without any deceit or fraud, you, the Macedonians, shall declare yourselves the enemies of those that are enemies of the Carthaginians; those kings alone excepted, and those ports and cities, with which you are connected by any treaty. And we also, on the other side, will be the enemies of those that are enemies of king Philip; those kings, and cities, and nations alone excepted, to which we are already bound by treaty. You shall be partners also with us in the war in which we are now engaged against the Romans; till the gods give to you and to us a happy termination of it. You shall supply us with the assistance that is requisite, and in the manner that shall be stipulated between us. And if the gods, refusing success to our endeavours in the war against the Romans and their allies, should dispose us to enter into treaty with them, we shall insist that you also be included in the treaty, and that the peace be made upon these expressed conditions: that the Romans shall have no time to make war against you; that they shall not remain masters of the Corcyreans, nor of the people of Apollonia, Epidamnus, Pharos, and Dimalus; nor of the Parthinians, and the Atintanians; and that they shall restore also to Demetrius of Pharos all the persons of his kindred, who are now detained in public custody at Rome. If the Romans shall afterwards make war, either against you or us, we will mutually send such assistance as shall be requisite to either party. The same thing also will we perform, if any other power shall declare war against us; those kings, and cities, and states alone excepted, with which we are allied by treaty. If at any time it shall be judged expedient to add to the present treaty, or to detract from it, it shall be done with mutual consent."

It seems that the successor of Alexander would willingly have consented to a partition of the world, which gave him the East and left the West to Hannibal. A powerful diversion was therefore necessary in favour of the latter. But he was thought to be so strong after Cannæ, that Philip feared his conquering too rapidly; he acted

feebly, and allowed himself to be beaten at the mouth of the river Aöus. The Romans afterwards raised the Eto-lians against him as enemies; brigands, who asked nothing better than war and pillage; and who ended by getting into the heart of Greece by seizing Anticyra.

Hannibal did not cease himself to act in Italy; but this army, which always lost without renewing itself, had become so weak that the Romans everywhere affronted it with advantage. Their general was then the impetuous Marcellus,¹ one of the heroes of barbarous times, proud of his strength and bravery, celebrated for his single combats, who had already conquered the Gauls, and who resembled them in his impetuosity. Thanks to superiority of number, this valiant soldier many times defeated Hannibal before Nola, and before Casilinum, and in the end obliged him to leave Campania. In a single encounter at Beneventum, his lieutenant Hanno lost sixteen thousand men. Amidst all these reverses, the great captain surprised Tarentum, the second city of the south, whose port secured him easy communication with Macedonia. At the same time, profiting by the death of Hiero and the extinction of his family, he found the means of drawing Syracuse into his party, and putting it into the hands of two Greeks born of one Carthaginian mother. Agrigentum, Heraclea, almost all Sicily, at the same time went from the Romans. Thus, Hannibal, manœuvring with a handful of men through numerous armies, from Capua to Tarentum, and from Tarentum to Capua, apparently inactive, but with his eye fixed on the two straits, moved Macedonia and Sicily, like two arms against Rome. The Italians, little struck at the vast plan, were astonished at his impotence, and in their rustic language compared him to the bee who has strength only for one blow, and who, when his sting is once east,² falls into torpor.

The year 213 was a time of repose for the two exhausted parties; but in the following campaign Rome made a prodigious effort to terminate the struggle and overwhelm her antagonist. She levied three hundred and thirty-five thousand men; she succeeded in taking from

¹ This name means *Martial*, according to Posidonius, quoted by Plutarch.—*Life of Marcellus*.

² Livy, xxiii. 42.

the Carthaginians the two great cities which supported his party in Italy and Sicily, Capua and Syracuse.

Hannibal outdid himself to save Capua. He beat the Roman armies before her walls, and he beat them in Lucania. Rome did not let go her hold; this was for her an affair of vengeance as much as of interest. It was not merely because of her murdered citizens; Hannibal, entering Capua, had promised that she should become the capital of Italy.¹

He then did a singularly daring thing; he left the Romans before Capua, and marched upon Rome. He encamped at a distance of forty stadia from her walls, and, profiting by the first fright, prepared to commence the assault; but, fortunately, he was here met by two legions.² The Roman historians pretend that, so far from being terrified, the Romans took this occasion to send out the troops destined for the army in Spain, and that they sold the field upon which Hannibal was encamped, without any sacrifice of its value. According to them, the Carthaginian, taking only three horsemen with him, approached Rome at night, and, from the top of a hill, observed her situation, and marked her anxiety and solitude.³ The Romans sent considerable forces against him, but he laughed at their pursuit, repassed through Samnium, taking with him an enormous booty, and returned by Daunia and Lucania to the Strait of Sicily, after the most rapid and most perilous campaign ever made by any general. A cry of admiration at it escapes Polybius.

Capua then, without hope, fell into the power of the Romans. She ended as she had lived. After a voluptuous banquet, after they were satiated with all the delicacies they were about to quit, the principal citizens circulated a beverage which was to save them from the vengeance of Rome. (211.)

The siege of Syracuse was no less difficult. The genius of Archimedes defended her for two years against all the efforts of Marcellus. This powerful inventor was so absorbed in the pursuit of mathematical truths, that he

¹ Livy, 10.

² Polyb. ix.

³ App. *Hannib.* l. c. 330.

forgot to eat and drink; forced to the bath by his friends, he still traced problems with his finger on the ashes of the hearth, or upon his body rubbed with oil. Such a man could not care for the Romans or for the Carthaginians. But he took pleasure in this siege, as in any other problem, and willingly descended from geometry to mechanics. He invented terrible machines, which threw stones weighing six hundred pounds upon the Roman fleet, or which, lowered into the sea, lifted up a vessel, whirled it round, and struck it against rocks—the men forming the crew flying on all sides like stones cast from a sling; or again, concentric mirrors, reflecting the light and heat to a distance, threatened to burn up the Roman fleet at sea. The soldiers no longer dare approach; at the slightest object appearing on the walls, they turned their backs, crying that it was a new invention of Archimedes. Marcellus could only take the town by surprise, during the night of a festival. He sent to seek Archimedes. But he was so absorbed in his inquiries, that he neither heard the noise of the town being taken, nor the soldier who brought him the order of the general, and who at last killed him. A century and a half afterwards, Cicero, then quæstor in Sicily, had the tomb of the geometrician looked for. Amidst some briars, they found a small column, on which was engraved a sphere. Archimedes would have desired no other epitaph.

Sicily thus returned to the Romans by the taking of Syracuse, and especially by the defection of the Lybian Mutto, an able general, who, after having beaten Marcellus, ended by passing over to the side of Rome. But the same year in which Marcellus took Syracuse, the Romans experienced great reverses in Spain; the two Scipios having divided their forces, were conquered and killed; the Roman army was only saved by the presence of mind of Marcius, who was only a Roman knight. No one dared ask for the command of the army of Spain, in despair at the death of the two generals. Young Scipio, the son of Publius, scarcely four and twenty, dared to propose himself as successor and avenger of his father and uncle. The Roman people nominated him with enthusiasm. He was one of those amiable and heroic

men¹ so dangerous in free cities. He had none of the old Roman austerity; his was rather a Greek genius, and somewhat resembling Alexander. He is accused of indifferent morals, and in a town which was beginning to be corrupted, this was an additional recommendation. For the rest, caring little for laws, overruling them by genius and inspiration, he every day passed some hours shut up in the Capitol, and the people almost thought him the son of Jupiter. Young as he was, and long before the legal age, he demanded the ædileship. "Let the people nominate me," he said, "and I shall be of age."² From that time Fabius and the old Romans began to fear this daring youth.

As soon as he arrived in Spain, he declared to the scarcely recovered troops, that Neptune had inspired him to go through all the enemy's possessions, to attack the great city of Spain, Carthagera, the granary and arsenal of the enemy. He predicted the moment when he should take the city. Two soldiers demanded justice of him. "To-morrow," he said, "at this hour, I will set up my tribunal in such a temple of Carthagera." He kept his word. He found in the city hostages of all the Spanish tribes; he loaded them with kindness, promised even to send them back to their homes, caressed their children, and made them presents corresponding to their ages; to the girls, portraits and bracelets; to the boys, poniards and swords. When the aged wife of the chief Mandonius came to implore him to have the women treated with more consideration, and when she wept over the outrages the Carthaginians had done them, he himself began to weep.

A few young soldiers, who knew the foible of their general,³ offered him as a present a female captive of great beauty. Scipio affected no severity: "If I were a private man," he said to them, "nothing could have been more agreeable to me." Then sending for the girl's father, he delivered her into his hands. He entirely gained the Spaniards by the heroic confidence with which he re-

¹ Polyb. x., who, however, when speaking of his patrons, the Scipios, is to be read with caution.

² Livy, xxv. 2. Appian. *Bell. Hisp.* 1, c. 257.

³ Polyb. x.

turned their hostages. They even went so far as to prostrate themselves before him, giving him the title of king. But he imposed silence on them.

Hasdrubal, henceforth without hope, collected all the money he could in order to pass over to Italy. Scipio cared not to stop the passage to despairing men; to the great peril of Rome, he allowed them to march towards the Alps, to join Hannibal.

What would have become of Italy if this army, recruited by the Gauls, had disengaged from the south of the peninsula the terrible enemy of Rome? It is true he had lost his Numidian cavalry, exterminated or seduced by the money of the Romans; but Rome herself could now do no more. Twelve colonies, exhausted by the last levies, had refused their aid. The consul, Claudius Nero, who had been charged to check Hannibal, saw that all was lost if his brother penetrated far enough to reach him; he took his best troops, traversed the whole of Italy in eight days, and joined his colleague near Metaurus. The army of Hasdrubal, seeing the ensigns of the two consuls, thought that Hannibal had perished; and allowed itself to be conquered.¹ Nero, returning with the same celerity, threw into Hannibal's camp the head of his brother. This invincible man, guiltless of this last reverse, said, with bitter coolness: "I recognise the good fortune of Carthage." He then shut himself up in the country of the Brutii, in the angle of Italy.² His brother, Mago, who renewed the attempt of Hasdrubal to join him, met with no better success.

Meanwhile, Scipio saw that Italy could only be delivered by Africa being conquered; that Carthage was nowhere else so weak; that such an invasion would be at once easier and more glorious than a war of tactics in the rugged mountains of Brutium; that instead of

¹ Polybius offers a justification of Hasdrubal in these words:—"We have seen the many impediments thrown in his way by the chiefs who, from time to time, were sent from Carthage to Spain."

² "At five leagues from Cosenza, below Rogliano, the road plunges by a narrow sort of staircase, bordered with precipices, into an absolute abyss, whither the torrents descend from Monte del Campo Terneſe; there is no other way of getting from Naples to Reggio. Hence the isolation of Calabria."—*Sejour d'un officier Franc. en Calabre.*

attacking the monster in his den, he must be drawn out into open day, on the naked shore of Africa, where number and physical force gave more advantage.

The jealous opposition of Fabius rendering the senate little favourable to this proposition, the young consul declared he would carry it before the people. The senate yielded; but it was no fault of theirs that Scipio was not left without adequate means. They only gave him thirty galleys,¹ and he was not allowed to make levies of men. The enthusiasm of the Italians, their impatience to see Hannibal out of Italy, made up for the ill-will of the senate. "The people of Etruria first agreed to come to the aid of the consul, each according to his ability; Cære promised to furnish the crews with barley and all necessary provisions; Populonia promised the iron; Tarquinii the canvas and sails; Volterra barley, pitch, and tar; Arretium thirty thousand bucklers, as many helmets, fifty thousand darts, javelins, and long spears; as many axes, mattocks, scythes, buckets, and mill-stones as were necessary for forty galleys; an hundred and twenty thousand bushels of wheat, and a sum of money for the decurions and rowers; Perugia, Clusium, and Rusellæ gave wood for building, and a considerable quantity of wheat. Scipio took oak in the forests of the republic; the whole of Umbria, and especially Nursia, Reate, and Amiternum, promised soldiers. The Marsi, the Peligni, the Marrucini, and many others, willingly offered to serve in the fleet; the Camertini, who were allied to the Roman people on a footing of equality, sent a cohort of six hundred men, ready armed. Having put thirty ships in construction, Scipio pressed the work with such activity, that forty-five days after the wood had been taken from the forests the vessels were launched, all equipped and armed."

While he hastened the preparations at Syracuse, various accusations were made against him to the senate. It was said, that he had corrupted the discipline of the army by a mixture of effeminacy and cruelty; the soldiers were not those of the republic, but those of Scipio; when he fell

¹ Livy, xxviii. 45. Appian tells us that Scipio received from the public no more than ten galleys, in addition to those which he found in Sicily, and had no money but what he derived from voluntary contributions.

sick in Spain, and they supposed him dead, they thought themselves free from their oath; it was only by odious perfidy that he could stifle the revolt; in Italy he shut his eyes to the atrocious tyranny of Pleminius at Locres;¹ and now, at Syracuse, he forgot the imprudent expedition which he himself had proposed, and the consul of the Roman people flattered the allies by walking the gymnasium in slippers and a Greek mantle,² listening to the vain disputes and declamations of the sophists.

Carthage was interrogating travellers as to the projects of the consul, when he disembarked in Africa. He hoped for the alliance of the Numidian chief, Syphax, whose friendship he had gained in a temporary visit he had made to Barbary, at the time he was prætor in Spain; but, since then, Syphax had married the beautiful and artful Sophonisba, daughter of the Carthaginian general Hasdrubal Gisco. The weakness of these African races is well known; how often were the Jews and their kings drawn into idolatry by the seductions of the daughters of Phœnicia. The dangerous foreigner easily turned the changeable mind of the Numidian from the Carthaginians; she flattered him with the proud idea of making himself arbitrator between the two greatest powers of the world—of driving the Romans from Africa, and Hannibal from Italy. At this rate Carthage would have gained all, since, in reality, Hannibal fought only for her.

Scipio feigned to listen to these propositions; profited by the confidence and facility of Syphax,³ always saying that he desired peace, but that his counsellors were for war, thus prolonging the negotiation until his envoys had had time to reconnoitre the camps of Syphax and Hasdrubal. Informed by them that the huts of the Africans were all made of combustible matter, he attacked the two camps, and, horrible to relate, burned the two armies in one night. They contained ninety-three thousand men.

The camp was encumbered with spoils taken from the flames; Scipio sent for merchants to buy them. The soldiers, thinking they would soon be masters of all Africa,

¹ Polyb. xi.

² Livy, xxix. 19.

³ Polyb. xiv.

gave their booty almost for nothing; which, according to Polybius, caused a considerable profit to accrue to the general.¹

Scipio had brought back to Africa the Numidian king, Massanases or Massinissa, whom Syphax had despoiled of his kingdom. Syphax had long pursued his rival in the desert. The latter, who was the best horseman in Africa, who, up to eighty, could remain a whole day on his horse, always succeeded in eluding his enemy.² When he was closely pressed, he dismissed his horsemen, assigning them a place of meeting. He once found himself with two others in a cavern, round which Syphax was encamped. It is almost like the history of David concealed in the cave where his persecutor, Saul, slept, or that of Mahomet separated from his enemies by a thin cloth in the cavern of Thor. Massinissa, brought back by the enemies of Numidia, enjoyed the cruel pleasure of taking his enemy, of entering his capital, and taking Sophonisba from him. This perfidious woman, formerly promised to Massanissa, secretly sent to excuse herself for a forced marriage. The young Numidian, with the levity of his age and country, promised to protect her, and the same night took her for his wife. The unfortunate Syphax, not knowing how to avenge himself, sent word to Scipio that she who had been able to draw him from the alliance of Rome, might exercise the same influence over Massinissa. Scipio saw the soundness of the suggestion, and in the name of Rome, claimed Sophonisba as part of the booty. Massinissa was on horseback with some Romans; without descending, he presented a cup of poison to Sophonisba, and fled at full speed, "I accept the nuptial present," she said, and she tranquilly drank the potion. The barbarian showed the body to the Romans. That done, he presented himself in the royal habit before Scipio, who loaded him with praises and presents, and put upon his head that crown which he had so dearly bought.³

The Carthaginians, deprived of the assistance of Syphax, and seeing all the cities open their gates to Scipio, decided upon calling Hannibal and Mago to their aid, and

¹ Polyb. xiv.

² Appian, *Sibyl*, c. 67

³ *Id. ib.*

in order to gain time, asked permission to send ambassadors to Rome. This message opened a new career to Hannibal. Shut up in Brutium, he could do no more in Italy. In Africa, he might become master of Carthage, whether he entered it as the conqueror of Scipio, or whether he found it weak and exhausted by a last defeat.

He left Italy,¹ which he had desolated for fifteen years, with horrible adieus. In the latter part of his stay there, he had loaded even his faithful Brutians themselves with tributes. He made the inhabitants of the strong cities, whose defection he feared, descend into the plain; he often burnt alive the families of those who had quitted his party.² To supply the wants of his army, he put to death upon false accusations people whose property he usurped. At the time of departure, he sent one of his lieutenants, under the pretext of visiting the garrisons of the allied towns, but in fact to drive the citizens from those towns, and to give up to pillage all that the proprietors could not save. Many towns anticipated him and rebelled; the citizens gained the day in one, the soldiers in another; everywhere was murder, rape, and pillage. Hannibal had many Italian soldiers whom he endeavoured to lead by promises; he succeeded only with those who were banished for their crimes. The others he disarmed, and gave for slaves to his soldiers;³ but many of them blushing to make slaves of their comrades, he assembled those that remained, with four thousand horses, and a number of beasts of burden

¹ Between Catanzaro and Cotrone there is the *torre di Annibale*, the place of his departure, according to tradition.—*Sejour d'un Offic. Franc.*

² Livy, xxiv. c. 45. App. *Hannib.* 38. Dio (Fragm. Vales. 47, 50) gives us this portrait of Hannibal. "He combined the Greek and Punic learning; he was skilled in reading the future in the entrails of victims. He was lavish of money; he required absolute devotion, instant obedience on the part of those he commanded; he had an utter disdain of all other men. He had the senators of Nuceria drowned in their baths; the other inhabitants had permission to quit the town with one garment, but they were slain on the road. He had the senators of Acerra thrown into wells."

³ Perhaps Hannibal had fugitive slaves among his troops. I am disposed to think so from the following circumstance. Near Mons Circens there was a temple to the goddess Feronia, or Faronia, founded, it is said, by Spartans, who had fled hither to avoid the severity of the laws

that he could not transport, and killed them all, men and beasts.

From the time that the Carthaginians looked for the arrival of Hannibal, they already thought themselves conquerors; they no longer thought of the truce, they threw themselves on the Roman vessels which the tempest cast upon their coasts. They sent back the Roman ambassadors who came to expostulate, escorted them, embraced them as they departed, and endeavoured to make them perish.

Meanwhile, Hannibal did not hurry himself. When the Carthaginians begged him to fight and to terminate the war, he answered coldly, that at Carthage there were other things to think of; that it was for himself to choose his time for repose or action.¹ However, after a few days, he encamped at Zama, at five days' journey to the West of Carthage. Before fighting, he tried what effect address and cunning would have upon the mind of the young Roman general. He demanded an interview, praised him, and ended by saying: "We cede you Sicily, Sardinia, and Spain; the sea we will divide; what more would you have?" It was too late to accept such conditions.

Hannibal, forced to fight, placed in the first rank the foreigners kept in pay by the Carthaginians, the Ligurians, Gauls, Baleares, and Moors; in the second, the Carthaginians. These two lines were to receive the first fury of the combat, and blunt the edges of the Roman swords. Behind, but at a distance, at least the distance of a stadium, beyond the reach of arrows, came the troops he had brought from Italy, and which strictly belonged to him. In this little nucleus of an army, of which such care was taken,² were to be found many of the soldiers of Hamilcar,

of Lyeurgus. The enfranchised slaves who followed Hannibal visited their temple, in which there was a stone seat with this inscription: *Bene meriti servi sedeant, surgant liberi*. Hannibal pillaged the temple, but his army respected the treasure which it contained, formed of the gifts of the enfranchised slaves.—Dionys. ii.

¹ Polyb. xv.

² Polyb. xv.—So at the battle of Ravenna in 1512, Pedro of Navarre put forward and sacrificed the Italian cavalry. We have seen that at Thrasymenus, at Cannæ, Hannibal scarcely lost any other soldiers than Gauls.

born with Hannibal, and his companions in the passage of the Rhone and the Alps. Their presence alone re-assured all the others; the general said to the two first lines, "Be sure of victory; you have with you Hannibal and the army of Italy!"

The mercenaries in the pay of Carthage were excited by emulation, and for some time supported the whole effort of the Roman army. But the second line did not advance to support it; they thought themselves betrayed by the Carthaginians, turned and threw themselves upon them. They, pressed at the same time by the Romans and by their own people, wished to take refuge in the ranks of the old soldiers of Hannibal, but he would not receive runaways, and, without pity, presented the point of the spear to them. All who could not run towards the wings perished between the Romans and Hannibal. Hannibal's veterans were untouched; and the masses of dead that covered the plain would have prevented Scipio from getting round it, but at this moment the Numidians in the service of Rome, who had conquered the two wings, turned back, and took Hannibal in the rear. This same cavalry, that were so often the cause of his conquering in Italy, decided his defeat at Zama. (202.)

Scipio, considering the immense resources of Carthage, did not undertake to force her. He granted her the following conditions: "The Carthaginians shall restore to the Romans all that they have unjustly taken from them in the truces; shall return them all prisoners; shall give them up their elephants and all their long vessels, with the exception of ten. They shall make no war without the authority of the Roman people. They shall return to Massinissa the houses, lands, towns, and other possessions that have belonged to him and his ancestors, within the territory *that shall be pointed out to them*; they shall pay ten thousand Euboic talents within fifty years. Lastly, they shall give an hundred hostages, to be chosen by the consul from among their young citizens." Thus, he took their navy from them, and at their gates he placed the restless and ardent Massinissa, who would incessantly seek to extend his own power at their expense, and would insult them at pleasure; while Rome, holding Carthage in shackles, would always prevent her from attacking him.

When these conditions were read in the senate, Hasdrubal Gisco advised their rejection. Hannibal went to him, seized him, and threw him down from his seat.¹ There was universal indignation. The general alleged, that leaving his country while a child, he had not been able to form himself to the Carthaginian politeness; and that he believed Gisco was ruining his country by rejecting the treaty. This haughty apology ill concealed the contempt of the warrior for the merchants among whom he sat. And what could be better deserving of contempt? When the ambassador from Carthage went to solicit the ratification of the treaty at Rome, a senator said to him, "By what God will you swear, after all your perjuries?" The Carthaginian meanly answered, "By the gods who have punished those perjuries with such severity."²

Carthage gave up five hundred vessels, which were burned in open sea, within sight of the dismayed citizens. But what grieved them most was the paying the first term of the tribute; the senators could not refrain from tears. Hannibal began to laugh. This bitter derision characterized this true demon of war, the Wallenstein of antiquity.³

"You have allowed them to disarm you," he said, "to burn your vessels, to interdict you making war; public disgrace cannot draw a sigh from you, and now you weep over your money."⁴

Hannibal alone had gained by the war. Entering Carthage with six thousand five hundred mercenaries, and easily increasing that number, he found himself master of a city disarmed by the defeat of Zama.⁵ He got himself nominated suffete; and to put Carthage in a condition to re-commence the war, he undertook to reform it. He destroyed the oligarchy of the judges, who had become masters of all, and sold all; he had a decree passed, forbidding them to be continued two years in their office.

¹ Polyb. xv.

² Livy, xxx. 42.

³ He smiled when he saw the body of Marcellus, covered with wounds. "A good soldier," he said, "but a bad general."—App. c. 342. "I should fancy," says Montesquieu, "that Hannibal said but few *bons mots*." Why not? Is not this raillery the proper characteristic of the condottieri, making a sport and a trade of life and death?

⁴ Livy, xxx. 44.

⁵ Appian, *Punic war*, i. 50.

He used pitiless severity in the finances, deprived the extortioners of their prey, and told the astonished people that they were in a condition to liquidate the debt due to the Romans without any new tax; he opened new sources of wealth to his country: he employed the leisure of his troops in planting, on the naked shores of Africa, those olives, whose utility he had had occasion to appreciate in Italy.¹ Thus, Carthage, become a purely agricultural and commercial state, rapidly repaired her losses under the beneficial tyranny of Hannibal, who destined her to become the centre of an universal league of the ancient world against Rome.

CHAPTER VI.

Greece invaded by the arms of Rome—Philip, Antiochus.
200-189.

It was with indignation and surprise that, after sixteen years struggle against Hannibal, the Roman people heard the war against Macedonia proposed by the senate: the thirty-five tribes unanimously rejected it. Each man had set about raising his ruined cabin, training his vine, blackened by fire, and cultivating his little field; the people had had enough war.

And yet war was everywhere. If Carthage was overcome, Hannibal lived and waited; Spain and Gaul, in their barbarous fury, had not waited. The Spaniards had just exterminated the prætor Sempronius Tuditanus and his army; the Ligurians, the Gauls of Italy, the Insubrians, the Boians, even the Cenomans, burned the colony of Placentia, encouraged by a Carthaginian. Philip, finally, had only made peace in order to prepare for war; in order to form a navy against Rhodes and the king of Pergamus, the allies of Rome; in order to make sure of the shore of Thrace, the only coast whence Macedonia was accessible.

¹ Aurel. Vict., *Life of Probus*. See Livy, xxxiii. 46.

War was altogether within the projects of the senate; it desired it—it desired it to be eternal. Since the defeat of Cannæ had placed a dictatorial power in its hands, it cost it too much to descend again; the people must be for ever banished from the forum; the indocile race of the ancient citizens must die in distant lands; Latins, Italians, freedmen, will supply their place. The plebeians of Rome must scatter their bones upon every shore; camps and eternal roads were all that should remain.

Rome was between two worlds. The western was bare, poor, and barbarous, full of grass and verdure, a vast confusion of dispersed tribes; the eastern, brilliant in arts and civilization, but weak and corrupted. The latter, in its proud ignorance, thought alone to occupy the attention and forces of the great nation. Ætolia compared itself to Rome; the Rhodians wished to hold the balance between her and Macedonia. The Greeks did not know that Rome only employed the least part of her forces against them. Two legions would suffice to overthrow Philip and Antiochus; while, during many successive years, two consuls and the two consular armies must be sent against the obscure settlements of the Boians and the Insubrians. Rome stiffened her arms against Gaul and Spain; she had only to touch the successors of Alexander with her finger to make them fall.

Whatever may have been the injustice of the attacks of Rome, it must be owned that the Alexandrian world well merited being put to an end. After military revolutions, rapid wars, overthrows of states, there was established, in the disorder, in the corruption and immorality, a species of order, in which these old nations slept. Perjury, murder, and incest, were things of every-day life. In Egypt, the kings, after the example of the gods of the country, married their sisters and reigned with them; and Isis frequently dethroned her Osiris. One of Philip's generals raised at Naxos an altar to impiety and injustice, the true divinities of this age.¹ But to be unjust it was at least neces-

¹ Polyb. xvii.—With a similar derision, Prusias offered a sacrifice to Æsculapius, ere he carried off on his shoulders the precious statue of the god. See Polyb. *Ambas.* 77. On arriving at Thermæ, Philip burned all the offerings suspended in the temple of Apollo.—Polyb. *Ex. Porphy.* 25.

sary to be strong. Now nothing could be weaker than these proud monarchies. Theocritus, it is true, boasts of the thirty-three thousand cities of Greek Egypt, but it had in reality only one city, the enormous Alexandria. To this monstrous head hung, as it were by threads, disproportionate members: the interminable valley of the Nile, Cyrene, Syria, Cyprus, separated from Egypt by the sea and by deserts. The empire of the Seleucidæ had as little unity. Seleucia and Antiochia formed two isolated and hostile provinces; between these countries the natural barriers are so strong that the Romans and the Parthians, the Turks and the Persians, have never succeeded in crossing them.

The Seleucidæ and the Lagidæ were only supported by European troops, whom they brought, at a great expense, from Greece, and who, soon enervated by the morals and climate of Asia and of Egypt, became similar to our *poulains* of the crusades. It was thus that the Mamelukes of Egypt were obliged to renew their population by buying slaves in Caucasus. When Rome forbade Greece to continue this exportation of soldiers, she cut at a blow the nerve of the Syrian and Egyptian monarchies.

These poor princes concealed their weakness under pompous titles; they had themselves called, *the conqueror, the thunderbolt, the beneficent, the illustrious*. Gradually their dismasked misery procured them better merited titles: Physcon, Auletes—*the big-bellied, the flute-player, &c.*

Greece and Macedonia, variously warlike, found a cause of weakness in their hostility. Since Alexander, Macedonia had, in some sort, hung over Greece, in readiness to conquer her. The vain eloquence of Athens, who no longer astonished the world, except by her flattery of kings; the Bæotian gluttony and stupidity, which desired perpetual peace, and ruined the city in banquets;¹ lastly, the exhaustion of Sparta and the demagogic tyranny of Argos—all this could not stand against the intrigues, the gold, and the arms of Macedonia. But, in

¹ At Thebes, they who died without children did not leave their property to other relatives, but to their table-companions, to be expended in entertainments.—Polyb. *Extr. Const. Porphy.* 43.

this sinking of the principal cities of Greece,¹ the ancient and so long subjected races, the Achæans and the Arcadians, had regained strength; the aristocratic and heroic genius of the Dorians having slackened, the democratic genius of Achæan federalism arose in its turn. Aratus had made Sicyon, Corinth, Athens, and, lastly, Megalopolis, the great city of Arcadia, enter the Achæan league. It is from thence that the able general of the Achæan league, the Megalopolitan Philopœmen came. Thus the end of Greece recalls to mind her beginning; the last of the Greeks was an Arcadian, (a Pelasgian?)

The young Achæan and Arcadian confederation was placed between two jealous populations, enemies to order and peace: in the north, the Ætolians, a thieving nation, land pirates, always free of their word and their oaths. When they were asked no more to take spoils from the spoiled—that is to say, no longer to pillage to favour the wars of their neighbours, they answered, “You shall rather take Ætolia from Ætolia.”² In the south, ancient Sparta, barbarian and corrupted, had, by a sanguinary revolution, just resumed her military organization. The Stoics, rugged spirits, strangers to reality and to history, had, in the city of Lycurgus, made the first trial of that classic policy which proposed to itself a superstitious imitation of the republican governments of antiquity. It was these who at Sparta conducted the education of young Cleomenes, and at Rome that of the Gracchi and of Brutus. Violent means were not repugnant to them. Blindly pursuing their narrow ideal, they regarded abstractedly political convulsions and the effusion of human blood. To re-establish equality of possessions, and the military organization of Sparta, Cleomenes had not hesitated to commence by massacreing the Ephori. All the turbulent and warlike of Peloponesus found lands and arms at Sparta. The pacific Achæans would have perished, if they had not given themselves a master. Aratus called

¹ Polyb. ii.—They could not collect six thousand talents from the whole of Peloponesus. Attica (joined with Thebes against Sparta) was estimated at only 5750 talents, including every description of property, lands, houses, &c.

² See, in Polyb. xvii., the conference between Philip and Flaminius, the former of whom seems very fond of heavy jokes.

in the Macedonian, Antigonus Doson, against Cleomenes, then, against the Ætolians, king Philip, who, for a time, obtained a sort of supremacy over Greece. He made very ill use of it; at the time when he had need to assure himself of the Greeks against Rome, he alienated them by gratuitous crimes. He dishonoured the family of Aratus, poisoned Aratus himself, attempted to assassinate Philopœmen, and treacherously seized Ithome. The Ætolians and Spartans called in the aid of Rome against Philip, and the rest of Greece mistrusted him too much to support him.

Philip, however, was very powerful. Entrenched behind the almost inaccessible mountains of Macedonia, he had the foot soldiers of Epirus, and the horse soldiers of Thessaly, as his advanced guard. He possessed in Elatea, Chalcis, Corinth, and Orchomenus, the shackles of Greece, as Antipater called them. Greece was his arsenal, his granary, his treasury. The first consul sent against him, did not see this, and lost a campaign in penetrating into Macedonia only to leave it again immediately. His successor, Flaminius, the true Roman Lysander, who, like the other, knew how to eke out the lion's skin with the fox's case, set about the matter more skilfully. One fact characterizes his whole conduct in Greece: when he wanted to possess himself of Thebes, he embraced the principal citizens, who had come out to meet him, continued his march talking amicably, until he and his people had entered their town with them. Everywhere he did the same sort of thing. When a traitor, sold to the Romans, had given him guides to double the defile of Antigonos, in which Philip had shut him out of both Macedonia and Greece, he had the address to wean Epirus from him, at the same time that the Achæans, pressed by the Spartans, abandoned Macedonia, who had left them without aid. Of the Thessalonian cities, Philip had ruined the smaller to defend the country; the larger were indignant, and delivered themselves to the Romans. Phocæa, Eubœa, and Bœotia escaped from his alliance. Philip, reduced to Macedonia, demanded peace, and only refreshed his people for war. It was then that Flaminius gave him battle in Thessaly, at a place called Cynocephale. The Cynocephali,

or *dog-headed*, were driven from the hills, and broke all the order of the phalanx. This formidable body, whereby the force of sixteen thousand lances was delivered with wonderful unity, was nothing when broken. The legion, moveable and divisible, penetrated the spaces, and decided the grand question of tactics in antiquity. Philip had but one army, and could give but one battle. Conquered, without resource, he begged for peace.

The Ætolians, to whom, according to their treaty with Rome, every town taken was to belong, insisted upon his being utterly ruined. Flaminius declared that the humanity of the Roman people forbade their falling upon a conquered enemy. "Would you," he said, "with Macedonia, throw down the rampart which defends Greece from the Thracians and Gauls?" Thus the Ætolians gained nothing by the victory for which they had prepared the way. Flaminius said that the Romans had only crossed the sea to establish the liberty of Greece. He himself presided at the Isthmian games, and had the following *senatus-consultus* proclaimed by a herald: "The senate and people of Rome, and I, Q. Flaminius, pro-consul and conqueror of Philip and the Macedonians, declare free, and exempt from all tribute, the Corinthians, the Phocæans, the Locrians, the Eubœans, the Achæans, the Phthiotes, the Magnes, the Thessalonians, and the Perhœbians." The Greeks scarcely believed their ears; they had the proclamation repeated, and such were their transports, that Flaminius was near being stifled. In vain the Ætolians endeavoured to prove the secret designs of Rome. How could they disbelieve the words of a man who spoke pure Greek, who made epigrams in that language against the Ætolians, and who hung up in the temple of Delphi a buckler in the inscription of which he made the Romans descend from Æneas? The Greeks paid divine honours to the Barbarian. They dedicated offerings to Titus and Hercules, to Titus and Apollo.¹

Their enthusiasm rose to the highest pitch when Flaminius withdrew the garrisons from the towns of Corinth, Chalcis, and Demetrias, and did not leave a Roman soldier in Greece. Still he refused to deliver

¹ Plut. Life of Flaminius.

Sparta from the tyrant Nabis; he supported Nabis against the Achæans, Philip against the Ætolians, and left more factions and troubles among the Greeks than before.

The moderation of Rome was not without a motive. Spain and Gaul then demanded her greatest efforts. (195.) The prætor Cato fighting the Spaniards, took and dismantled four hundred towns. The Insubrians, defeated in three bloody battles, where they lost more than an hundred thousand men, had not dismayed the Boians and Ligurians by their submission. The first prolonged their heroic resistance till the year 192 B.C.; the second, still longer. In the same year that Rome, menaced by the Boians, declared that *there was a tumult*, the Ætolians broke out in Greece in an attempt against Sparta, Chalcis, and Demetrius. They called Antiochus the Great into Greece. Hannibal projected an universal confederation against Rome. The Romans, by commanding the Carthaginians to give him up to them, had only sent him to Antiochus in Syria, from whence he continued to put the world in motion against Rome.

Antiochus, surnamed *the Great*, in fact found himself so, through the common weakness of the successors of Alexander. Encouraged by the approaching death of Philipater, he had already laid his hands upon Cælo-Syria and Egypt, re-established Lysimachus in Thrace, and oppressed the Greek towns of Asia Minor. When, at the request of Smyrna, of Lampsachus, and the king of Egypt, the Romans demanded an account of his usurpations, he haughtily answered that he did not interfere in their affairs of Italy.¹

To conquer Rome, it was necessary to make sure of Philip and of Carthage, and to carry the war into Italy. This was the opinion of Hannibal;² but this dangerous genius inspired Antiochus with too much mistrust. To confide an army to him, and send him to Italy, was to expose himself to conquering for Hannibal. The king of Syria willingly listened to the Ætolians, who, in ac-

¹ Appius, *Rom.*

² He sent to Carthage a Tyrian merchant, who posted in the senate-house, during the night, the letter with which he was charged, and immediately departed.—Appian.

cordance with their ordinary system of drawing the war into Greece, in order to profit by the efforts of others, represented all the cities as being ready to declare for him. The king, on his side, promised before long to cover the sea with his fleets. In this commerce of lies, both sides lost. Antiochus only brought ten thousand men into Greece; the Ætolians gave him scarcely a single ally. The Roman armies had time to arrive and overwhelm them both.

Antiochus wintered in Eubœa, and lost time in celebrating his nuptials, (he was then more than fifty years of age.) He insulted Philip, whom he ought to have gained at any cost, and drove him over to the side of the Romans by favouring a pretender to the court of Macedonia. Meanwhile the legions arrived, and Antiochus, surprised after two years waiting, was beaten at Thermopylæ.

It was then necessary to defend the sea and close Asia to the Romans. These having obtained free passage from Philip, and vessels from Rhodes and from the king of Pergamus, had only to pass the Hellespont. Antiochus could at least defend the towns and consume the Romans. He begged for peace, and endeavoured to gain over the generals, the consul Lucius Scipio, and Publius, the conqueror of Carthage, who had asked to serve his brother as lieutenant. Antiochus had formerly sent back to Africanus, then ill, his son, who had been taken prisoner. The latter, in gratitude, had sent word to Antiochus not to fight until his health allowed him to return to the camp. But the prætor Domitius, who did not enter into this equivocal negotiation, forced Lucius Scipio to fight during the absence of his brother (near Magnesai, 190). The victory cost little to the Romans; the elephants, the camel-mounted Arab archers, the chariots armed with scythes, the heavy armed cavalry, the Gallo-Greeks, the Macedonian phalanx itself, the whole system of oriental and Greek warfare, failed against the legion. The Romans, it is said, had 350 killed, and slew or took 50,000 men, (B.C. 190.)

Peace was granted to Antiochus on the following conditions:—"The king shall abandon all Asia Minor, except Cilicia. He shall give up his elephants and his vessels, and shall pay fifteen thousand talents." This was to ruin him for ever. In Asia, as in Greece, the Romans did not

reserve to themselves a single foot of land; they gave Caria and Syria to the Rhodians; to Eumenes, the two Phrygias, Lydia, Ionia, and the Chersonesus.

But before leaving Asia, they destroyed the only nation that could renew the war. The Galatæ, established a century before in Phrygia, had enriched themselves at the expense of all the neighbouring nations, from whom they levied tribute. They had accumulated the spoils of Asia Minor in their retreats on Mount Olympus. One fact characterizes the wealth and magnificence of these barbarians. One of their chiefs or tetrarchs proclaimed that for an entire year his table should be open to all comers; and he not only entertained the crowds who came from the neighbouring cities and districts, but he stopped and detained all travellers until they had eaten at his table.¹

Although the majority of the Galatæ had refused to aid Antiochus, the prætor Manlius attacked their three tribes, (Trocenes, Tolistoboi, Tectosages,) and forced them into their mountains with projectile weapons, to which these Gauls, accustomed to fight with the sword and lance, could only oppose stones. Manlius made them restore the lands they had taken from the allies of Rome, obliged them to renounce robbery, and imposed upon them the alliance of Eumenes, who was to keep them in check.

CHAPTER VII.

Rome invaded by the Grecian spirit—Scipio, Ennius;
Nævius and Cato.

THE first political relations between Greece and Rome, formed by the common hatred against Philip, were friendship and mutual flattery. They recollected their community of origin; the two sisters acknowledged each other, or seemed to do so. Greece thought it useful to be related to the great barbaric city that had conquered Carthage. Rome

¹ Athenæus, iv. 13.

liked the idea of calling herself Greek. Each thought she had deceived the other. Greece lost her liberty, Rome her original spirit.

From the earliest ages, Rome had had relations with Greece, either in consequence of the Pelasgian origin of the Latin people, or from the neighbourhood of Magna Græcia, but principally because of her ancient connexions with the Greek cities of Tarquinii and Cære or Agylla; the latter had its treasure at Delphos, as well as Sparta or Athens. On the Aventine Mount there had been placed tables written in Greek characters, which contained the names of the cities allied to Rome. After the taking of Rome by the Gauls, Marseilles, another Greek town, sent pecuniary assistance to the Romans; Rome raised a statue to Hermodorus, who, it is said, interpreted the laws of Greece; she conferred the same honour upon Pythagoras, the pretended teacher of Numa. Camillus, after the taking of Viei, sent presents to Delphos. That of Rome by the Gauls, was soon known to Athens. The Romans sent ambassadors to Alexander, who complained, as afterwards did Demetrius Poliorcetes, of the corsairs of Antium, a town dependent upon Rome. We find that at Tarentum the Roman ambassadors were mocked because they pronounced Greek badly, which at least proves that they spoke it.

After the war of Pyrrhus, the relations became frequent. The Romans were more and more under the influence of Greek ideas, in proportion as they prevailed over Greece by policy and arms. And first, the Latin religion was vanquished by the splendour of the foreign myths. The hermaphrodite gods of ancient Italy first divided themselves into couples, and gradually their legitimate and insignificant halves modestly gave place to the brilliant goddesses of Greece. The male gods better resisted the invasion. Saturnus, the great god of the Latins, maintained his place by wedding the Greek Rhea. Mars, the god of the Sabines, lost old Nerienne. The Etrusco-Latin god, Janus-Djanus, could not recognise Djana under the Hellenic costume of a fleet huntress, but he remained by the side of the Greek Zeus, and, in prayer, was even before him.¹

¹ See Blum, *Einleitung*; Creuzer; Dionys. iv,

The Greek heroes crossed the Adriatic with the gods. Castor and Pollux eclipsed without being able to depose the Penates, their brothers, who had so long faithfully guarded the Italian hearth. The sterile gods of Italy became fertile by virtue of the Greek spirit; an heroic generation was imposed upon them; in default of legitimate offspring, deification gave them children by adoption. Of all the traditions circulated concerning the foundation of Rome, the Roman people chose the most heroic, the most conformable with the Greek spirit, the farthest from the sacerdotal spirit of ancient Italy. The Roman generals took the title of the descendants of Æneas, in their offerings to the temple of Delphi. A son of Mars, nourished by a wolf, according to the custom of the heroes of antiquity, became the founder of Rome. The senate declared the citizens of Ilium relations of the Roman people, and had the wolf suckling the twins cast in brass.

Up to the second Punic war, Rome had no historian. She was too much occupied in making history to amuse herself with writing it. At this epoch the all-powerful city began to set up another rivalry, and ordered a Roman history from the Greeks established in Italy. The first who furnished one was Deocles of Peparethus. Let us inquire what materials he could have had at his disposal.

The patricians, the stern guardians of the perpetuity of public and private rites, had, despite the barbarism of Rome, prepared two kinds of documents for history. The first were a kind of pontifical journal (*Great annals*), where were registered prodigies, expiations, &c. The second, Tables of Linen, books of the magistrates, memoirs of families, genealogies, inscriptions of tombs, comprised all the monuments of aristocratic pride, all the honorary inheritance of the *gentes*. A large portion of these various monuments had perished in the burning of Rome. However, there had been recovered tables of laws and treaties, which no one could read in the time of Polybius. None of these monuments could have been either very authentic or very instructive. The mysterious spirit of aristocracy must, among an illiterate people, and in an illiterate age, have contented itself with brief indications. Moreover, these books, these tables, shut up in temples, and in the houses

of the nobility, restored, augmented, suppressed at will, must at the time of the Punic war have arrived at a strange state of alteration and falsification.

Could tradition supply the want of written monuments? Had not the Romans, like all barbarous nations, a popular poetry, in which their primitive history may be found, or, at least, their spirit, their original manners? Many passages of the ancients lead us to suppose this. Still, few nations seem to me to have been placed in a situation less favourable to poetry.¹ Heterogeneous populations, shut up within the same walls, borrowing from neighbouring nations their customs, arts, and gods, a wholly artificial society, without a past; continual war, and that a war of cupidity more than of enthusiasm; a greedy and an avaricious mind. The eleph, after the combat, sings on the solitary mount. The Roman, returned to his city with his booty, cavils with the senate, lends out at usury, pleads and disputes. His habits are those of a jurisconsult; he grammatically inquires into the letter of the law, or twists it by logic to his advantage. Nothing can be less poetical than all this.

Poetry was not commenced in Rome by the patricians, the children or disciples of mute Etruria, who forbade songs in sacred feasts, and only allowed pantomime. Magistrates and pontiffs, the *fathers*, would carry into their language that solemn conciseness of the oracles which we admire in their inscriptions. As for the plebeians, they represent in their city the principle of opposition, of struggle, of negation. It is not here either that we shall find the poetic genius.

If Rome had popular songs, she probably owed them to the clients who were present at the feasts of their patrons, fought for them, and celebrated the common exploits of the *gens*. In the north, also, the singer, like the warrior, is the man of the *king*. This name of *king* is that by which even at Rome the lesser people designated the great, either from flattery or malice. In Germany, where man gives himself to man without reserve, and with so exalted a devotion, vassals sang their lords with all their hearts. At Rome, where the client, as a plebeian, was

¹ Appendix XXVIII.

opposed to the interests of his patron, poetry must have very soon been frozen by the formality of an official inspiration. These songs, probably, deserved to be forgotten, and they were so. Consecrated to the glory of great families, they vexed the ears of the people. The plebeians, without the spirit of family, without past, without history, regarded only the present and the future. Rome, from so small beginnings, having become so great, was, moreover, interested in their being forgotten. She cared not to know that the conquered, the Etruscans and Gauls, had formerly made her pay ransom.

Poor, then, were the materials for Roman history; still poorer the critical powers of those who set about the task. The Greeks of this epoch had become totally incapable of penetrating the deep symbolism of the early ages. Whenever antiquity, poetically or from incapacity for abstraction, personified an ideal and gave it the name of a man—Hercules, Theseus, or Romulus, the rude materialism of the Alexandrian critics, took it at its word. kept it to the letter. Religion had descended to history, history to biography, to the romance. Man had appeared so great in Alexander, that the world did not hesitate to honour in individuals that which sound criticism would have explained to be the personification of a people or of an idea. Thus, the famous Eucemerus, in his romantic voyage to the isle Panchea, had read in the inscriptions of Hermes, that the gods were superior men, deified for their good actions. Yet this superiority was not always very distinguished. Venus originally was merely a procuress; her distinction was to have founded her profession. Cadmus, that mythic hero, who followed the track of his sister through the world, and sowed the teeth of the dragon in the fields of Thebes, is in Eucemerus nothing but a cook of king Sidon, who ran away with a flute-playing girl.

This criticism, guided by the materialism of Epicurus, passed from Greece to Rome with Diocles. Diocles was followed by Fabius Pictor, Fabius by Cincius Alimentus, Cato, and Piso. Fabius is repudiated by Polybius, and even by Dionysius.

Cato's aim was rather moral than critical: he himself says that he wrote his history in broad characters, that his son might have noble examples before his eyes. What

more puerile than Piso and Valerius of Antium! These are the principal sources from which Sallust derived his great history; from which Cornelius Nepos drew; Varro, Dionysius, and Livy. The genius of Rome was a practical spirit; too impatient, too fond of application, to endure the tedious and minute researches of criticism. This is the spirit of the memoirs and of contemporary history. Scaurus, Sylla, Cæsar, Octavius, Tiberius, left memoirs. The historical works of Tacitus are nothing more than passionate memorials against tyrants.

Fabius, Cato,¹ Cincius, Piso, Valerius, and lastly Livy, the eloquent framer of this romantic history, religiously followed the Greeks, taking little account of the original monuments; history, generally speaking, was with the Romans a rhetorical exercise, as we know positively of Sallust, and as we see in Livy, wherever we can compare him with Polybius. As for Dionysius, we cannot deny that he possesses a moderate knowledge of antiquities; but he thought that he was purifying Roman history by turning it into prose. He will not say that, of fifteen thousand Fidenates, Romulus killed one-half with his own hand; but he will attribute to him institutions that could not be enacted at once as laws, but must have been introduced into manners by the force of time and habit: paternal authority, patronage, &c. He will praise the probity of the companions of Romulus. Every page has its dull reflections. In the harangues which he puts into the mouth of his personages, Romulus, Coriolanus, &c., you have a foretaste of the Byzantine imbecility.

The Greeks flattered their masters, by suppressing all that could humiliate Rome; by representing her in her cradle such as she was at the time of the Punic wars; they flattered Greece, by comparing, as nearly as they could, Italian barbarism with the elegance and civilization of the Ionian cities. Above all, they flattered the great families of Rome, who, in the wars of Philip, Antiochus,

¹ 144-6. Plut. *Hist. of Rome*; Dionys. i. As to the surname of *Pictor*, see Pliny, xxxv. 4; as to the books of Cincius on the comitia, ancient words, the consular powers, &c., see Festus, *Verb. patricios, reconductæ, rodus, scenam*, &c. Fabius and Cincius wrote the Roman history in Greek (Dionys. i.) Fabius' history existed also in Latin.

and Perseus, sovereignly disposed of the fate of their country.

No families had at this epoch closer relations with Greece than the Fabii and the Quintii. We have seen that the first Latin historian of Rome, Fabius Pictor,—whose hereditary surname at once indicates that a branch of this family had cultivated the arts of Greece,—was sent by the senate to consult the oracle of Delphi, after the battle of Cannæ. It was one of the Quintii, Titus Quintius Flaminius, who, after his victory over Philip, proclaimed at the Isthmian games the independence of Greece. See, in Plutarch, the credulous joy and the enthusiasm at this moment of Greece. You will then understand the favour with which the Greek historians of Rome have treated the family of their liberator. In the first century of the republic, consulates were showered down upon these two families. A Fabius and a Quintius alike bear the warlike name of *Cæso*—that is to say, he who strikes and kills; as the Franks gave to their Karl the name of *Martel*. The great battle of Veii is the song of the Fabii. The army swears to the consuls to return victorious; one of the two Fabii perishes, but the other revenges him, decides the victory by his valour, and refuses a triumph, rendered mournful by the death of his father. The Fabii divide the wounded, and have them attended at their expense. This heroic family offers to the senate to maintain alone the war of Veii. Three hundred and six of them proceed on this expedition, all patricians, all of the same *gens*, all, according to the puerile exaggeration of the historian, *worthy to preside in the senate in the most glorious days of the republic*. The Veians can only triumph over these heroes by stratagem. The three hundred fall into an ambushade, and perish. Among them all, they had only left one son at home; it is from him that the various branches of the *gens Fabia* descended. One Fabius leaves the besieged Capitol, and traverses alone the army of the Gauls, to accomplish a sacrifice upon the Quirinal Mount.

The Quintii present to Rome the classical ideal of the warrior labourer, destined to shame, by his heroic poverty, the age in which the Romans began to read history. Taken from the plough to be dictator, Quintius Cincinnatus

delivers a Roman army, and, at the end of a fortnight, returns to the plough. The delivered consul is called Minutius, in common with him whom the Fabius Cunctator of the Punie wars saved from the hands of Hannibal. Like Fabius, Cincinnatus sells his field to redeem his word, and sacrifices his property to honour. Both are inflexible patricians, who disdain the vain clamour of the people.

The Marcii, who combated Perseus, and who were so long employed in the negotiations with Greece, were also entitled to be favourably treated in history. This family is plebeian; C. Mareus Rutilius the first plebeian censor. Well: one branch of this family is distinguished by the surname of *rex*, which simply means a powerful man, patron. Hereupon, the Greek genealogist comes to the conclusion that they descended from a king of Rome, Ancus Martius; and, to make the matter surer, they must go back to Mamereus, son of Numa, although, according to tradition, (Dionysius, Plut.) Numa left no male child. Three other sons of Numa—Pinus, Pompo, and Calpus—are made the sources of the Pinarii, the Pomponii, and the Calpurnii. The Pomponii are knights, the Calpurnii are new men, who only arrive at the consulate in 573. Nothing stops the forger. The Pomponii put upon their medals the bearded image of Numa; the Marcii put upon theirs, the head of Numa and the port of Ostia, founded by Ancus Martins, or Ancus and an aqueduct founded by this king, and rebuilt in honour of the family by the prætor Q. Marcus Rex.

This is not all. Quintius Cæso, exiled for his violence, is accused by tradition of having returned with the Sabines and slaves, and of having for an instant got possession of the Capitol. The patrician modesty of the Quintii rejects the accusation, and throws a veil over this circumstance. The plebeian Marcii are less fastidious; they adopt for one of their family that which the Quintii will not accept. A remote crime is no dishonour. Q. *Marcus* Coriolanus¹ is made to avenge himself for an

¹ *Analogies between Quintius Cæso and Quintius Marcus Coriolanus.* Coriolanus is a political version of the history of Cæso. Cæso (from *Cedere*, to strike) has not taken a Volscian town, but he has, with a blow of his fist, killed a man named *Volsci*. He exiles himself; but the Sabine, Appius Herdonius, soon afterwards comes with the slaves

unjust condemnation, by introducing the foreigner into his native country. But the flatterer of the Marcii does not venture to represent him taking the Capitol, nor involve him in the shame of having been defeated. He alike fears to humiliate Rome or his hero. The tears of a mother disarm Coriolanus, and at once save Rome and the historian.

The other generals who make war in Greece are of no less illustrious origin. The Sulpicii go back, by the paternal side, to Jupiter, and on the maternal side to Pasiphaë. Although this family is not even of Roman origin, P. Sulpicius *Quirinus* none the less puts upon his medals the she-wolf suckling Quirinus. The Hostilii, plebeians, who attained the consulate at the end of the sixth century, bear upon their medals the head of king Tullus, their pretended ancestor. As to the Acilii, Manius Acilius Glabrio, the conqueror of Antiochus at Thermopylæ, is their first consul; and he is not judged sufficiently noble to attain the censorship. But give them time; one century later, and they become descendants from Æneas.

Thus, the Romans and the Greeks lived in an exchange of mutual flattery; the former, as A. P. Albinus, whom Cato ridiculed, exercised themselves in writing Greek, and asked pardon of the reader for their ignorance of that language. Flaminius composed Greek verses. From that time the Roman nobles never failed to have among their slaves or clients some Greek grammarian or poet, who educated their children, and often the father himself. Thus, the ferocious and vindictive Livius Salinator—even he who, in his censorship, dared to brand thirty-four of the thirty-five tribes—had with his children the Tarentine Livius Andronicus, who translated the *Odyssey* into Latin, and gave in the theatre imitations of the Greek dramas, the poet him-

to bring back the exiles. He takes possession of the Capitol. The tribunes say that Cæso is under him: “Cæsonem Romæ esse—Exules servique duce Ap. Herd. Sabino ut exules injuriâ pulsos in patriam reduceret. Se Volscos et Æquos concitaturum. Patriciorum hospites clientesque, perlatâ lege—majore silentio quam venerint, abituros.” A Valerius (popular family) drives them from the Capitol. “Collegâ senatum retinente. Consules ne Veïens hostis moveretur—multi exulum cæde suâ fœdare templum.” The father of Cæso, however, is named consul, and recalls his son.

¹ Polyb. *Ext. Constant. Por.* 87.

self figuring as an actor.¹ Paulinus Emilius—that austere pontiff, that minute augur—had in his family Greek pedagogues, grammarians, sophists, rhetoricians, sculptors, painters, grooms, huntsmen,² &c., &c. Scipio Africanus had as a client and panegyrist the famous Ennius. Born in Magna Græcia (at Rudia, in Calabria),³ a centurion in Sicily, under T. Manlius Torquatus, and in Spain under Scipio, at once Osc, Greek, and Roman, he boasted of having three souls. He taught Greek upon the Aventine, imitated Greece with much originality, and thought he had rendered the Romans conquerors in poetry, as they were in policy, by the arms of Scipio. He was so highly pleased with himself for having weakened the originality of Italy, that he called the Romans by the title of *Greeks*. The subject of his great poem was the second Punic war—that is to say, the exploits of Scipio. The best passage which remains of it, is the portrait of the good and wise client—doubtless that of Ennius himself.⁴ The Scipios, who had

¹ See Val. Max. ii. 4.

² Plut. *Life of Paulus Æmilius*.

³ Ennius was born at Rudia in Calabria, in the centre of the Greek towns (Sueton. *de Illust. Grammat.* c. i.) A centurion in Sicily, he distinguished himself under Titus Manlius Torquatus (Sil. Ital. xii. 390); he next fought in Spain, by the side of the great Scipio. (Claud. *in lib. de Const. Stilich. pref.*; Cicero, *pro Archid.*) He taught Greek on Mount Aventine. (Met. ii., Cicero, *de Orat.* ii. 68.) He went to Greece with M. Falerius Nobilior. (Cicero, *pro Archid.*) Cato blames Falerius for taking him. (Cicero, *Tuscul.* i. 20.) Connected with Greece by education, with ancient Italy by birth and language, (he described himself as a descendant of Messapus,) with Rome by his feelings and admiration, he might well boast of having three souls. (Gellius, xvi. 17.) After leading the Romans to the school of Greece, he was entitled to applaud himself for his success and to call them Greeks. (Festus, v. *Sos.*) Scipio placed his statue among the monuments of the *gens Cornelia*. (Val. Max. vi. 8.)

⁴ “Hocce loquuntur vocat, queicum bene saipe libenter
Mensam, sermonesque suos, rerumque suarum
Comiter impertit; magna quom lassu' dieci
Parti favisset, de summcis rebu' gerundeis
Consilio, endo foro lato, sauctoque senatu.
Quoi res audacter magnas parvasque jocumque
Eloqueretur; tincta maleis, et quoi bona dictu
Evomeret, seiqua vellet tutoque locaret:
Queicum molta volutat gaudia clamque palamque.
Ingenio quoi nolla malum sententia suadet,
Ut faceret facinus levis aut malus, doctu', fidelis,
Suavis homo, facundu', sno contentu' beatus,
Secitu', secunda loquens in tempore, commodu', verbum

confiscated his genius to the profit of their glory, did not release Ennius after his death, and shut him up in their sepulchre.

Thus Rome received with docility the yoke of Greece in literature, as in policy she received that of the aristocratic patrons of the Greeks, the Fabii, the Quintii, the Æmilii, the Marcii, and especially the Scipios; those proud nobles, who so cruelly trampled under foot that old Italy whose arms subjected the world to them, received with favour foreign men and manners. They closed Rome to the Italians, to open it to the Greeks. Gradually, the rude type of the Latin genius was effaced. Genuine Romans were only to be found out of Rome, and among the Italians—for example, at Tusculum in Cato, and later in the peasant of Arpinium, Marius.

The first avenger whom Italy raised up was the Campanian Nævius,¹ like Ennius, a soldier of the Punic wars; the

Paucum, multa tenens, antequa, sepolta, vetusta;
Quai faciunt mores veteresque novosque tenentem;
Moltarum veterum legum, divomque hominumque
Prudentem, quei multa loqueive tacereve posset.

Hunc inter pugnas compellat Servilius sic. (Gellius, lib. xii. cap. 4.)

See, for other fragments of Ennius, Cicero *de Divinatione*, i.; Id. *de Republica*; Id. *de Officiis*, i.; Id. *in Bruto*; Id. *Tusc. Quæst.*, &c., &c.

¹ The first, according to Varro, who employed the Saturnine verse. He was the inventor of the Prætextal tragedy, in which the characters are Romans. He attacked the Scipios. (See Aul. Gell. vi. 8; the Metelli. (Terentian., Maur. v. 2517):

“Fato Metelli Romæ fiunt consules.

To which they reply:

“Dabunt malum Metelli Nævio poetæ.”

(Asconius Pedianus ad Cic., Act. i. in Verrem, c. 10.)

These are other fragments of Nævius:

“Age nunc quandò *rhetoricasti*, responde quod te rogo.”

“Et asseri laudes ago (*ego?*) cum votis me multatis meis, quod
Præter spem quem vellem audiebam: hoc mihi Ennius.”

(Colax Nævii.)

“Ex Protecto Nævii. Diomedes, in *patio*:

Populus patit: tu patias modo.

Ex Tarentillâ Nævii. Sosipater in *quanti*:

Quæ ego in theatro hic meis probavi plausibus,

Ea non audere quemquam regem rumpere,

Quanto libertatem hanc hic superat servitus absolutè.”

Gellius, vi. 8.

For some important fragments of the immediate successor of Ennius and Nævius, see Appendix XXIX.

same, perhaps, who organized the Roman velites. He did not borrow the Greek metre; it was in old Saturnine verse that he attacked, in turn, the Claudii, the Metelli, and even the Scipios. The few fragments which remain of him are full of cutting allusions to the tyranny of the nobles, to the servility of their creatures. *Come, suffer with a good grace; the people suffer well. What, that which I approve, that which I applaud in the theatre, may not freely offend our kings of the senate! Oh, tyranny here dominates liberty! The Metelli are born consuls of Rome.* A pun upon the word *Metellus*, which signifies porter, upon the incapacity of that powerful family, and upon its numerous consulates. The Metelli were angry, and answered by a verse in the same measure: *The Metelli are born to punish you.* They did not stop there; they threw Nævius into prison. The incorrigible poet was so little intimidated, that he composed here two comedies, and did not fear to attack the Scipios: "He, whose arm whilome performed such marvellous exploits; whose name is still so glorified, who alone is great in the eyes of nations, he is seen led, giddy youth, by his father, from the house of his dear, lightly clad, with but a cloak on, so airy and gay is he." The sneer was the more cutting, that Scipio, now an old man, was carrying on an intrigue in his own house with a slave, whose polite husband's connivance concealed this domestic scandal.¹

The Scipios appealed to the atrocious law of the Twelve tables, which condemned to death the author of defamatory verses. Fortunately for the poet, the tribunes interfered. But he nevertheless underwent the disgrace of a sort of public exposure, and was exiled to Africa. A poet of the following century, who prudently contented himself with satirizing vices in general, the comic dramatist, Plautus, has painted the melancholy figure of the poor Campanian, nailed to a column, with two guards who never quit him day or night.² Nævius, leaving Italy for ever, made

¹ Val. Max. vi. 6. According to Valerius of Antium, one of the most ancient of the historians of Rome, the famous anecdote of the continence of Scipio is fictitious; he did not return the virgin to her relations.—Gell. vi. 8.

² In the *Miles Gloriosus*, v. 211.

her his adieu in an epitaph worthy of Catullus, which he composed himself, and in which he deplores his own ruin with that of Italian originality. *For immortals to weep for mortals were unworthy of them. Otherwise, the goddesses of song would weep Nævius the poet. Nævius once added to the treasures of Pluto, they no longer knew at Rome what it was to speak the Latin language.* The people, however, retained a favourable recollection of the courageous enemy of the nobles. They gave the name of Nævius to a gate of Rome;¹ and a hundred and fifty years after, Horace, with all his contempt for the ancient literature of his country, was obliged to say: "As for Nævius, we do not read him; we know him; he is, as of yesterday, in every memory."

The base victory of the nobles over Nævius did not preserve them from more serious attacks. At this epoch of the glory and omnipotence of the Scipios, a patrician, of the still popular family of the Valerii, Valerius Flaccus, brought from Tusculum, and established in his own house at Rome, a young Italian of singularly energetic character, tried courage, and biting eloquence. He was a red haired man, with blue eyes, a barbarian aspect, and a look which defied friend and foe. His family name was *Porcius* (the swineherd). But he was so acute in his childhood, that he was called *Cato* (*Catus*, wise). At seventeen, he had served against Hannibal. Since then, he had cultivated a farm adjoining that of the old Manius Curius, the conqueror of the Samnites. In the morning, he went as an advocate to plead in the little towns near Tusculum. Then he returned, stripped himself naked, laboured with his slaves, ate with them, and drank, like them, water, vinegar, or thin wine. Yet he was not a gentle master. "The father of a family," says he, in his book on agriculture, "ought to sell his old carts, old iron, and old slaves."²

¹ Varro *de Ling.* Lat. iv. 45. He died at Utica, towards the close of the Punic wars. Yet see Cicero, *Brut.*, c. 15. As to the lives of Ennius and Nævius, see Blum, *Einleitung*, &c.

² Cato, *de re rust.* "Let the father of a family sell oil, if it fetch a good price, and what he does not require of wine and corn. Let him

Established at Rome by Valerius, supported by Fabius, he became successively tribune of a legion, quæstor, prætor, and finally consul and censor with his old patron.

Deputed into Spain as a prætor, he began by sending back the commissaries, declaring that war should support war. In three hundred days, he took four hundred towns or villages, which he immediately caused to be dismantled. He brought an immense sum to the public treasury, and, at the moment of re-embarking, sold his war-horse to spare the republic the expense of its freight. Throughout the expedition, he had always marched on foot, with a

sell his oxen, calves, lambs, wool, hides, old carts, old iron, the old slave, the sick slave, and all that he can sell: the father of a family should be a seller, not a buyer."

"Nothing could be better than to enrich oneself by commerce, if that means were less dangerous; or to lend out money at usury, if that means were less dishonourable; but the feeling of our ancestors on these points was such, that by their laws they condemned the robber to restore twice the amount he had stolen, and the usurer to restore quadruple the amount he had lent. Whence we may judge how much more unfavourably they regarded the usurer than the thief. When, on the other hand, they desired to express their opinion of a worthy man, they called him a good labourer, a good husbandman, which they deemed the highest praise they could confer. The merchant is a man of activity, and generally skilful in amassing, but I consider his calling a perilous one, and very liable to misfortune. Our husbandmen are they who give birth to the most courageous men, the most robust soldiers; from their calling is derived the best ultimate profit, and at the same time the most secure, the least assailable; and those who are engaged in it are least subject of all men to ill thoughts."

("As to me," observes Plutarch, "I should never have the heart to sell the ox that had grown old in my service, still less my aged slave.")

"As for the Greeks, son Marius, I will tell you what I observed at Athens. It may be well to glance at their art, but not to go deeply into it; 'tis the most wicked and obstinate race in the world, and, believe it as though the words of an oracle: whenever this nation introduces any of its arts amongst us, it corrupts us; and it is even worse when it sends us its physicians. These wretches have sworn among themselves to exterminate, by the agency of medicine, all the barbarians to the last man among them; and they only seek the wages of their trade in order the more easily to gain our confidence, and kill us the more readily. They treat even us as barbarians, and insult us more contumeliously than the other nations. My son, I prohibit you from having anything to do with physicians."

slave who carried his provisions, and whom he assisted at times to prepare them. After having obtained the triumph, he went as a simple tribune to combat Antiochus in Greece. At Thermopylæ, the Roman general embraced Cato before the whole army, declared that to him the victory was owing, and charged him to bear the news to Rome.

So much vigour and so much severity towards himself added a wonderful authority to the cynic harshness of his attacks upon the manners of the nobles. It was especially against the Scipios that the Fabii and the Valerii seemed to have directed him, on his arrival at Rome. In his quæstorship in Sicily, he blamed the expenditure of Africanus, and his facility in imitating the Greeks. Scipio sent him back, saying, "I do not like so exact a quæstor."

The entire energy of Cato was needed to suppress the insolence and tyranny of the great families who were closely united to oppress the people. Quintius Flaminius had named Scipio *the prince of the senate*. Two sons of Paulus Æmilius had entered by adoption the families of the Scipios and the Fabii. Of the two daughters of the great Scipio, one married Sempronius Gracchus, the other Scipio Nascica. Thus, despite family hatreds, all the aristocracy were linked together by marriages; this is what rendered the nobles so strong against justice, and placed them above the law. A son-in-law of Fabius having been accused of treason, his father-in-law, to absolve him, had only to say that he was innocent, since he still remained the son-in-law of Fabius. Scaurus being accused, justified himself in the following manner; "Varius of Lucron accuses Æmilius Scaurus of having received presents to betray the republic; Æmilius Scaurus declares that he is innocent; which of the two will you believe?" The accuser of a Metellus having placed before the eyes of the judges the documents which were to convict him of extortion, the whole tribunal turned away their eyes!¹ Thus, nothing could check the audacity of these kings, as the people styled them.

¹ See Val. Max. ii. 10; iii. 8; iv. 1, 3; viii. 1.

Africanus especially, whose statue had been placed in the sanctuary of Jupiter,¹ and who had disdained a consulate for life, exercised a regular dictatorship. One day, when the quæstors hesitated to violate the law by opening the public treasury, Scipio, then a private individual, took the keys and opened it himself.²

There was no longer a republic, if no one had the courage to oppose the Scipios, and to insist upon their rendering an account, as citizens: Cato found an opportunity for doing this, after the war of Antiochus. (187.) Their conduct in this war had been more than suspicious. The two brothers had regulated the conditions of peace of their private authority. What sums, it was asked, did they bring from that rich Asia, what spoils from the successor of Alexander, the master of Antioch and Babylon?

At the day of trial, Scipio did not deign to reply to the accusers, but he mounted the tribune, and said: "Romans, on this very day I conquered, in Africa, Hannibal and the Carthaginians. Follow me to the Capitol, to render thanks to the gods, and ask them ever to give you chiefs who resemble me." All followed him to the Capitol—people, judges, tribunes, accusers, and even the secretaries. He triumphed that day, not over Hannibal and Syphax, but over the majesty of the republic and the sanctity of the laws.

Others state, that the licitors of the tribunes of the people, having laid their hands on the brother of Africanus, he took him from them, destroyed the order for his arrest, and said: "I shall not give an account of four millions of sesterces, when I put two hundred millions into the treasury. For myself, I have only brought back the surname of Africanus." He then retired to a property he had at Liternum in Campania. His enemy, Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, then a tribune of the people, himself prevented his being disturbed in his voluntary exile. He died there, and had this inscription placed on his tomb: "Ungrateful country; you do not even possess my bones!"³

¹ See Val. Max. ii. 10; iii. 8; iv. 1, 3; viii.

² Id. iii. 7.

³ Livy, xxxviii. 51, 87.

His enemies still pursued him in the person of his brother. The Petilii, tribunes of the people, others say M. or Q. Nævius, (a relation of the poet?) again proposed an inquiry into the money received or extorted from Antiochus. Cato supported the proposition, and it was converted into a law by the unanimous suffrage of the thirty-five tribunes! The accused were condemned. The judgment set forth that "L. Scipio, for granting an advantageous peace to king Antiochus, had received from him six thousand pounds of gold, and four hundred and eighty pounds of silver more than he had paid into the treasury; A. Hostilius, his lieutenant, eighty pounds of gold and four hundred and three of silver; C. Furius, his quæstor, one hundred and thirty of gold, and two hundred of silver." Lucius Scipio seemed absolved by his poverty. In his house they did not find the sum of money which he was condemned to pay. But the aristocracy nevertheless received a terrible blow. Cato, despite the efforts of the nobles, was soon raised to the censorship, and charged to carry out these strict investigations, which no one could elude after the humiliation of the Scipios.

CHAPTER VIII.

Reduction of Spain and the Greek states—Perseus—Destruction of Corinth, of Carthage, and of Numantia, 189-134.

AT the moment when the old Italian genius struck in the Scipios the representatives of the manners and ideas of Greece,¹ those of the east, dangerous in another way, had introduced themselves silently into Rome, and there commenced that gradual but invincible conquest which was in the end to place them on the imperial throne.

A Titus Sempronius Rutilius had proposed to his son-

¹ Val. Max. iii. 6: "We see in the Capitol a statue of Lucius Scipio with the Greek mantle and sandal."

in-law, of whom he was guardian, to initiate him into the mysteries of the bacchanalia, which, from Etruria and Campania, had then passed to Rome. (166-4.) The young man having mentioned it to a courtesan whom he loved, she appeared struck with terror, and told him that apparently his father-in-law and his mother feared to render an account to him, and wished to make away with him. He took refuge with one of his aunts, who informed the consul of the whole affair. The courtesan, on being interrogated, denied all at first, fearing the vengeance of the initiated. She then confessed. These bacchanalia were a frantic worship of life and death, among the rites of which prostitution and murder held a place. Those who refused to participate in infamy, were seized by a machine and thrown into deep caves. Men and women mingled promiscuously together in the darkness, then rushed furiously to the Tiber, and plunged into it burning torches, which blazed on leaving the water, symbol of the impotence of death against the inextinguishable light of universal life.

A close inquiry soon discovered that, in the single city of Rome, seven thousand persons had shared in these horrors. Guards were stationed everywhere at night, and an investigation made. A crowd of women, who were found among the culprits, were delivered to their parents to be executed in their own houses. From Rome the terror spread over Italy. The consuls pursued their inquiries from town to town.¹

This was not the first appearance of the oriental worships in Rome. In the year 534 of Rome, the senate

¹ Val. Max. ii. 3; Livy, xxv. i.: "In proportion as the war was protracted, and the sentiments, no less than the circumstances of men fluctuated accordingly, events flowed prosperously or otherwise, the citizens were seized with such a passion for superstitious observances, and those for the most part introduced from foreign countries, that either the people or the gods appeared to have undergone a sudden change. And now the Roman rites were growing into disuse, not only in private, and within doors, but in public also; in the Forum and Capitol there were crowds of women sacrificing, and offering up prayers to the gods, in modes unusual in that country." Tacit. *Annal.* xv. 44: "Rome, a city whither all things terrible and disgraceful flow from all quarters, as to a common receptacle, and are welcomed."

decreed the demolition of the temples of Isis and Serapis, and no one daring to lay hands upon them, the consul, L. Paulus Æmilius, first struck the doors of the temple with an axe. In 614, the prætor C. Cornelius Hispallus had driven from Rome and Italy the Chaldean astrologers and the worshippers of Jupiter Sabazius; but in the extreme dangers of the second Punic war, the senate itself had set the example of calling in strange gods. It had the black stone, under the form of which Cæbele was adored, brought from Phrygia to Rome.

The Roman people were not of a character that their manners could be corrupted with impunity. The foreign religions led to debauchery; debauchery loved the seasoning of blood and murder. The Roman race has ever been sensual and sanguinary. Debauchery against nature and gladiatorial combats found favour in Rome at the same time. A single fact will suffice. The brother of T. Quintius Flaminius had brought from Rome a boy whom he loved; the latter had reproached him that he had sacrificed, to follow him, a fine combat of gladiators; he regretted, he said, that he had not yet seen a man die. During the request, they announced to Flaminius that a Gaulish chief had just delivered himself and family into his hands. "Shall I recompense thee for the loss of the gladiators?" said Flaminius to the young boy; he struck the Gaul on the head with his sword, and stretched him dead at his feet.¹

The people, corrupted as they already were, grew horrified at such atrocities. They resolved to give the disease the most severe physician, and, despite the opposition of the nobles, raised Cato to the censorship. He expelled Lucius Flaminius from the senate, completed the downfall of the Scipios by depriving Asiaticus of his house, laid taxes upon all articles of luxury, and carried his severity so far as to degrade a senator for having kissed his wife in the presence of his daughter. Alas! of what use this exaggerated respect to modesty, and these sumptuary laws, in a city full of the accomplices of the bacchanals. In one single year it was found that two hundred women had poisoned their husbands to make way

¹ Plut. *Life of Cato*.

for other spouses.¹ Cato himself, now an aged man, maintained an intercourse with a female slave, under the eyes of his son and daughter-in-law, and ended by marrying at eighty the daughter of one of his clients. He had quitted agriculture for usury, and enjoined the latter profession to his son.

What must have been the policy of such a people? What their relations with foreign nations? Perfidious, unjust, atrocious; we should be sure of this, even had not the destruction of Macedonia and Greece, of Carthage and Numantia, expressly proved it. So long as Philip and Hannibal lived, the senate always dreaded an universal confederation, and conciliated Antiochus, Eumenes, Rhodes, and Achaia. But the successes which Prusias owed to his guest Hannibal in his wars against Eumenes, at length decided the Romans to rid themselves of their uneasiness. Flaminius demanded of the king of Bythnia that Hannibal should be delivered up to him, and the old enemy of Rome only escaped by poisoning himself. The reassured senate then favoured Lycia against Rhodes, Sparta against the Achæans, and received against Philip the accusations of the Thessalonians, the Athamanians, the Perrhœbeans, of Eumenes, of the Thracians, the Illyrians, and the Athenians. The senate justly thought him guilty of having slain the inhabitants of Maronea, out of hatred to the Romans, their protectors; they passed upon him the insult of confronting him with his accusers, and ended by declaring to him that he owed the preservation of his crown solely to his young son Demetrius, the friend of the Romans, among whom he had long resided as an hostage. Perseus, the eldest son of Philip, to whom the Romans desired to oppose their creature, accused Demetrius,² not without probability, of having sought to assassinate him, and had him condemned to death by a father who detested in him the friend and favourite of Rome.

The unfortunate Philip, until his death, had his treaty

¹ The exact number was 170. Livy. vi. or vii.

² Livy, xlv. 16.—He expelled the inhabitants of the great towns, more especially of the maritime towns, in order to people them with Thracians and other barbarians. He massacred the children of those whom he had slain.—Polyb. *Extr. Const. Porph.* 53.

with the Romans read to him twice a day. He could only prepare war, and leave it to his successor; his numerous injuries towards the neighbouring nations prevented their relying on him.¹ Perseus found the treasury full, the population augmented, and Thrace, that nursery of soldiers, partly conquered by his father. The Celts of the Danube, called in by Philip, were on their way towards Macedonia, and could thence pass into Italy. But Perseus very speedily found, from the exactions of the barbarians,² that they would be scarcely less formidable to his states than the Romans themselves. He found himself in the position of the emperor Valens, when he imprudently threw open the empire to the tribes of the Goths. Perseus saw the danger, and preferred dispensing with these dangerous auxiliaries. His preparations, besides, were not yet completed. To take the barbarians into his pay, was to commence war.

First, in order to gain time, he laid his crown at the feet of the senate, and declared that he would receive it from them alone. (178.) He regained Greece by his gentleness, clemency, and moderation. He gave his sister to Prusias, and himself married the daughter of the king of Syria, Seleucus. The senate of Carthage received his ambassadors in a temple at night. He tried, but in vain, to get assassinated at Delphi the cowardly Eumenes,³ who had betrayed him at Rome; when, instead, he ought to have joined him.

But such was the universal terror, that the infinite nations hostile to Rome only assisted Perseus with their good wishes. Thrace and Illyria alone united their arms to those of Macedonia. There is no doubt that, had Perseus endeavoured to transfer the scene of war to Greece, the Greeks, terrified by Rome, would have declared against him. He obtained their neutrality, and that was much.

¹ Polyb. *Extr. Const. Porph.* 53.

² Each chief already demanded 1000 pieces of gold.—Plut. *L. of Paul. Emil.*

³ Livy, xlii. 2.—Eumenes admits the courage and ability of Perseus. The story of the man of Brindes bribed by Perseus to poison all the Roman generals who might pass through that place, is a puerile absurdity.

The tyranny of Rome, besides, inspired him with the hope of seeing them throw themselves into his arms, as the Epirotes did. The Romans amused him with negotiations, and for him, who knew the enormous disproportion of forces, who saw himself alone, vindicating the liberty of the world—who, in truth, felt himself so near perishing, it was a great point to obtain delay. Thus, when, in his first encounter with the Romans, Perseus had killed two thousand two hundred men, he waited for the news of this victory to decide in his favour Carthage, Prusias, Antiochus, the Ætolians, or the Achæans; but all remained motionless. (171.)

The Romans, having attacked him at once from Thessaly, Thrace, and Illyria, were everywhere driven back, and in one single engagement lost six thousand men. It was the most sanguinary defeat they had suffered for forty years. And yet Perseus was obliged to divide his forces. In this same campaign, he gained a signal victory over the Dardanians, the eternal enemies of Macedonia.

Perseus has been accused, doubtless with reason, of avarice in not paying the Illyrians the money he had promised them. Yet it was not a few additional talents that would have interested the king of these barbarians in a war in which his throne and his life were at stake; nor would money have sufficed to overcome the terror with which the Roman arms then inspired Greece.

In the following campaigns, the consul Marcius, shut up in the defile of Tempé, only escaped by a miracle the shame of the Caudine Forks; he entered Macedonia only to leave it again very speedily. Perseus thought himself on the point of reaping the fruit of his skilful tactics. Prusias, Eumenes, and the Rhodians inclined towards him; but instead of aiding him, they contented themselves with interfering by embassies, which were received at Rome with the most magnificent contempt.¹ As to Antiochus Epiphanes, he hoped to profit by the time the Romans were thus occupied, to take possession of Egypt. Perseus thus remained alone.

¹ Livy, xliv. xlv.

Rome then thought it better to hasten the termination of a war, the prolongation of which might inspire the petty kings of Asia Minor with the idea that they held the balance between her and Macedonia. They sent against Perseus one hundred thousand men, and old Paulus Æmilius, who had so gloriously carried on the difficult wars of Spain and Liguria. The people, to whom he had made himself odious by his haughtiness, had refused him the consulate, and did not employ him for some time. Paulus Æmilius declared that, chosen from necessity, he was under obligation to no one, and demanded that the people should not interfere in the war. He forced the passage of Olympus, by occupying the heights above those which the troops of Perseus held, and found the latter encamped in the plains beyond. (168.) Although warned of the attack of the Romans, the king of Macedonia contented himself with sending troops to the defiles, and would not quit a spot adapted for his phalanx. Paulus Æmilius was seized with admiration on beholding the camp of Perseus; he would not, as his officers intreated, commence the combat at once; an eclipse terrified the army, and the gods long refused the presages favourable to the attack. At first, nothing arrested the impetuosity of the phalanx: "that monstrous beast," as Plutarch calls it, "bristling at all points." Paulus Æmilius for an instant thought himself conquered, and tore off his coat of mail. But the idea suddenly occurred to him to charge in peloton. The pressure thus becoming unequal, the phalanx could no longer retain its lines; it presented spaces, apertures, by which the Romans entered, and proceeded to the demolition of that mass which had lost its unity.¹ Yet Macedonia was not unworthy of herself in her last day; of forty-four thousand men, eleven thousand were surrounded and taken, and twenty thousand fought to the death. Perseus, whom the Romans sought to dishonour, after having destroyed him, had been wounded the evening before; he, however, threw himself without a cuirass into the midst of his phalanx, and there received a wound.

¹ Plutarch, *Life of Paul. Æm.*

As he re-entered Pydna, two of his treasurers, abusing his misfortune, dared to speak reproachfully to their master; he poniarded them. In two days, Macedonia yielded herself up to the conqueror, and Perseus found an asylum only in the temple of Samothrace. Neither promises nor menaces could draw him from it; but a traitor succeeded in depriving him of his children; this last blow broke his heart, and he came to yield himself, as the wild beast which has had its little ones taken from it. Harshly repulsed by his conqueror, whose knees he embraced, he implored him at least to spare him the horror of being dragged behind his car in the midst of the insults of the Roman populace. "That is in thy power," answered the Roman, coldly. He, however, endeavoured, by kind treatment, to attach the captive to life, and to preserve for his triumph its greatest ornament.

Macedonia and Illyria, divided into several provinces, among which all alliance was forbidden, even by marriage, received a mock liberty which suppressed them as nations. Their most distinguished citizens, all those of the Greek towns which had struggled against the agents of Rome, were sent into Italy, there to await a trial, which was never granted them. At the same time, Paulus Æmilius celebrated games, at which weeping Greece was obliged to appear. Then, by order of the senate, he passed into Epirus, declared to the inhabitants that they should enjoy the same liberty as the Macedonians, made them bring their gold and silver to the treasury, and then sold them as slaves, to the number of an hundred and fifty thousand. Their seventy towns were razed to the ground.

The triumph of Paulus Æmilius, the most splendid which had been seen, lasted three days. On the first, there was a procession of pictures and colossal statues, borne upon two hundred and fifty chariots. On the second, of the trophies of arms and three thousand men carrying the coined silver and the silver vases; on the third, the gold vases, the gold money, and four hundred crowns of gold, given by the towns. Then an hundred and twenty bulls, and the true victim, the unfortunate Perseus, dressed in black, and surrounded by his friends in chains, who, says the historian, "wept only for him."

But what almost broke their hearts, was to see his three children, two sons and a daughter. Those who conducted them taught them to extend their little hands towards the people, to implore their pity. The proud conqueror, who boasted of having, in fifteen days, overthrown the throne of Alexander, was not, however, more happy than his captive. He had lost one of his sons five days before the triumph; he lost another three days after. His other two children had passed by adoption into strange families.

The kings of Thrace and Illyria adorned the triumph of the prætor Anicius. The king of Macedonia languished two years in a dungeon, in which his gaolers caused him, they say, to die of want of sleep. The only son who survived him gained his livelihood by following the trade of a turner, and attained the rank of scribe to the magistrates in the town of Alba.

Into what an agony of terror the fall of Perseus threw all the kings of the earth, can hardly be imagined. The king of Syria, Antiochus the Illustrious, had then nearly conquered Egypt; Popilius Lænas ordered him, in the name of the senate, to abandon his conquest. Antiochus would have deliberated; then Popilius traced a circle around the king with a rod which he held in his hand. "Before leaving this circle," said he, "answer the senate." Antiochus promised to obey, and went out of Egypt. Popilius divided between the two brothers, Philometor and Physcon, the kingdom which belonged only to the eldest.

Humble and flattering ambassadors flocked to the senate. The son of Massinissa came to speak in his father's name: "Two things have afflicted the king of Numidia; the senate sent ambassadors to demand from him aid, which they had a right to demand, and reimbursed him the price of the wheat furnished. He has not forgotten that he owes his crown to the Roman people; content with the simple interest, he knows that the property remains to the giver."

Then Prusias arrived, his head shaved, and wearing the dress and rags of a freed slave. He prostrated himself upon the threshold, saying, "I salute you, saviours, gods;" and again: "You behold one of your freedmen, ready to execute your orders." Eumenes and the Rhodians were

still more compromised. The senate offered the crown to the brother of Eumenes, and left him his kingdom only to give him time to weaken himself by the incursions of the Galates. The Rhodians were only preserved from the treatment of Epirus by the interference of Cato. This strong-minded man took an interest in a free people who, after all, had only wished to preserve their liberty; he harshly reprimanded the tyrannical pride of the senate, and restored them to moderation by goading the uneasy conscience of those whom he had made to tremble under his censorship. "I can plainly see," said he, "the Rhodians did not wish us to conquer Perseus. Many other nations did not wish it; they think that if we have no longer any one to fear, they will be reduced to servitude; and yet they have not seconded the king of Macedonia. See how much more wary we are in the management of our private affairs. If we saw one of our interests in the slightest danger, we should shrink from no means of preventing the evil. . . . The Rhodians, they say, have desired to become our enemies; but is it just to punish a simple wish? Would it not be an unjust law which should say: If any one *wishes* to have more than five hundred acres of land, let him pay a fine; and let him also be fined who *wishes* to have so many heads of cattle. Well, we *wish* to violate the law in that, and we do it with impunity. . . . *But*, they say again, *the Rhodians are proud, haughty*. It is a serious reproach; I should not like my children to address such to me. However, even if the Rhodians are proud, what matters it to us? Should we be angry that any are more proud than ourselves?" It was also by assuming this bitter language, that, at the end of seventeen years, he obtained the liberty of the Achæans, who were detained in Italy under a pretext of awaiting their trial. The senate long deliberated whether they should at length permit them to return to their country. "One would say," said Cato, "that we have nothing else to do but to deliberate as to whether two or three decrepit Greeks shall be buried by our grave-diggers or by those of their own country." This barbarous pleasantry gained the cause of humanity.

A Greek, a friend of the Romans, has coldly recounted

through what persecutions, humiliations and outrages unfortunate Greece passed to arrive at her ruin; for my part, I have not the courage to do so. It is, perhaps, a curious spectacle to see how the most ingenious of nations disputed, inch by inch, their liberty and existence against the formidable power which could have destroyed her by a single breath; but it is, also, too painful to see the weak struggle so long beneath the powerful, who crush them, and who are amused by their agony. What could the tactics and courage of Philopœmen effect against the conquerors of Carthage? A pleasantry of Flaminius upon the figure of the Achæan hero characterizes the Achæan league itself—*“Beautiful legs, beautiful head, but no body!”*¹

Philopœmen did not dissimulate to himself the weakness of his country, and the fate which threatened her. *“Ah! my friend,”* he said sadly to an orator, who had sold himself to the Romans, *“art thou so desirous to see the last days of Greece?”* Sparta was taken from the Achæans, and they were also deprived of Messene. After the ruin of Perseus, a thousand of them were transported to Rome; but when, at the end of seventeen years, those who still lived returned to their country, they could not calmly witness her degradation. It was the time in which a true or false son of Perseus raised Macedonia, defeated the Roman generals, and advanced as far as Thessaly. The Achæans wished to profit by this movement to destroy Sparta, which had been raised against them by the intrigues of Rome. Metellus, the conqueror of Macedonia, sent to them at Corinth to say, that from that moment Corinth, Sparta, Argos, Heraclea, and Orchomenë, ceased to form part of the Achæan league. The indignation of the people was so great that they massacred all the Lacedæmonians who were then in Corinth; the Roman commissioners had only just time to fly. The deputies who were sent by Metellus to amuse them again, were

¹ Plut. *L. of Philop.* The life of this general was not altogether without reproach. He put a great many people to death at Sparta. Philopœmen did not *instantly* obey the Romans, as Aristenes did. If the thing were contrary to treaty, he said, he would have them make recourse to remonstrances, then to prayers, and, if all failed, even in obeying, to call the gods to witness that they obeyed unwillingly.

sent back with ignominy; and the Achæan league, determined to perish gloriously, dared to declare war against Rome. The Bœotians and the people of Chalcis were the only states who would share the ruin of the Achæans. Defeated in Locris, the confederates continued firm at the Isthmus, at Leucopetra. In this last and solemn battle of liberty, the Greeks placed their women and children on the heights, to see them die; it is not necessary to add that Roman tactics were triumphant. Greece was vanquished: who will dare to say that she was destined to fall without combating?

The barbarian Mummius took the beautiful city of Corinth (146), sold the inhabitants, burnt the town, and laid his ignoble hand upon the pictures of Apelles and the statues of Phidias. The stupid conqueror, seeing the king of Pergamus offer a hundred talents for a picture; "There must be some magic virtue in this canvass," said he, and he sent it to Rome. "Take care," he said to the men who undertook to transport this *chef-d'œuvre* into Italy: "take care not to spoil them; if you do, you shall be condemned to repaint them."

It was before such a man that the traitors who had sold Greece solemnly denounced the statues of the heroes of liberty, of Aratus and Philopœmen. I am grieved that there was one Greek found to defend them, and that the conqueror was spared this shame. The cold and cautious Polybius, the client of the Scipios,¹ gained honour at little cost, by speaking for these illustrious deceased, who probably would not have desired to justify their opposition to the interests of Rome.

The same year in which Greece and Macedonia became Roman provinces, the ancient rival of Rome also fell: 146 years before our era, Carthage and Corinth were ruined. Numantia followed them closely. The Romans, finding the enemies whom they had until then treated with caution, sufficiently weakened, no longer contented themselves with

¹ He is quite the Comines of antiquity. Certainly an historian of great power, and, for the most part, of much judgment, but not to be depended upon in his views of the internal history of Rome. Therein he has materially misled both Machiavelli and Montesquieu.

being the arbiters of nations; they wished to become their absolute masters.

By the treaty which terminated the second Punie war, Rome had bound Carthage, had attached to her a vampire to suck her blood until she sank exhausted; I speak of the restless and ferocious Massinissa, who lived a century, to the utter despair of the Carthaginians. This barbarian, at the age of eighty and ninety years, remained night and day on horseback,¹ eager for the ruin of his disarmed neighbours. He deprived them of a province in 199, of another in 193, and a third in 182. The Carthaginians extended their supplicating hands towards the Romans. Rome sent them, at the first supplication, Scipio Africenus, who witnessed the injustice and would not stop it. In 181, Rome guaranteed the Carthaginian territory; and some years after, she allowed Numidia to seize a province and seventy towns and villages. Carthage then implored the senate to decide at once what she was to lose, or, if it would not protect her as an ally, to defend her as a subject. The Romans, who then feared that she might unite herself to Perseus (172), affected a generous indignation against Massinissa. Cato was sent to Africa, but he proved himself so partial that the Carthaginians refused to accept his arbitration. This harsh and vindictive man never forgave them. In traversing their country, he had remarked the extraordinary augmentation of the riches and population. He feared, or appeared to fear, that Carthage would become terrible to the Romans. On his return, he let fall from his robe some Lybian figs; and as their beauty was admired, "The earth which produces them," said he, "is but three days' journey from Rome." From that time he pronounced no speech which did not end with these words, "and moreover, I think it is necessary to destroy Carthage."

The occasion soon arrived. Three factions tore this unhappy city: the Roman, the Numidian, of which the chief was Hannibal the Sparrow, (the coward?) and the party of the patriots, at the head of which was Hamilcar, the Samnite (the enemy of Rome?) The latter having

¹ Appian; *Wars of Africa and Spain*.

succeeded in driving out the Massissinites, the Numidian attacked the Carthaginians, who at length lost all patience, and took up arms. But he surrounded them, fought them, and destroyed fifty-eight thousand of their men. Rome had sent deputies to Massissina to buy elephants. Their secret orders were to impose peace if Massissina was conquered, and to allow the war to continue, if he was the conqueror. One of these Romans, the young Scipio, who was one day to destroy Carthage, witnessed all from an adjoining hill, and enjoyed the battle, as he said to himself, "like Jupiter from Mount Ida."

The defeated patriots were in their turn driven from Carthage, and Rome declared that she would punish this city for having violated the treaty. Vainly the Carthaginians demanded what satisfaction was demanded of them: "You ought to know," answered the senate, without further explanation. As soon as treason had placed Utica in the hands of the Romans, they began.

The announcement of war went with the fleet and eighty-four thousand men: no peace if they did not send three hundred hostages; at this price, they might preserve their laws and their city. The hostages delivered, they demanded their arms; they brought two thousand machines, and two hundred thousand complete sets of armour. Then the consul announced to them the decree of the senate: "They shall reside more than three leagues from the sea, and their town shall be entirely destroyed." The senate had promised to respect the *city*, that is to say, the citizens, but not the *town*.

This unworthy equivocation restored to the Carthaginians rage and strength. To banish them from the sea, was to deprive them of commerce and even of life. They called their slaves to liberty. They fabricated arms with all the metal they had left: a hundred bucklers a day, three hundred swords, five hundred lances, and a thousand darts. The women cut off their long hair to make cords for the machines of war.

The consuls were repulsed in two assaults, the army desolated by the plague, and their fleet burned. The Carthaginians, like the *devoted* in the modern Mussulman

armies, swam naked to the vessels and machines to burn them. Near the town, a new Carthage was formed, to which the Africans flocked daily. The Roman army thrice ran the risk of being exterminated.

The young Scipio Æmilianus, the son of Paulus Æmilius, adopted by the son of the great Scipio, who, a simple tribune, had saved the army in one of these encounters, demanded the edileship; the people raised him to the consulate. He returned in time to save the perishing consul, isolated Carthage from the continent by a wall, and from the sea by a prodigious dyke. But the Carthaginians executed a still more wonderful work: men, women, and children, all of them (they then amounted to seven hundred thousand) silently pierced through the rock another entrance to their port, and brought against the astonished Romans a fleet constructed with the wood of their demolished houses. Scipio defeated this fleet, and surrounded it, by establishing upon the sea-shore machines which swept the passage. He took the new town which was raised in the defence of the old one. The latter was dying with hunger, but did not yet think of surrendering. Scipio at length forced the entrance of Carthage; but the Carthaginians defended the three passages which led to it; they threw bridges from roof to roof. The narrow streets were soon choked up with bodies; the soldiers could only advance by clearing the passage with forks, and casting the dying and dead into the ditches. This combat lasted from house to house for six days and six nights. Fifty thousand men who occupied the citadel demanded and obtained their lives. The deserters still occupied the temple of Æsculapius, knowing well that there was no pardon for them. In vain Scipio showed them, prostrate at his feet, the cowardly Asdrubal, the general of the Carthaginians. His wife, who remained with the last defenders of Carthage, mounted to the summit of the temple, dressed in her most magnificent robes, pronounced an imprecation on her unworthy husband, stabbed her children, and threw herself with them into the flames.

It is said that, at the sight of this dreadful ruin, Scipio

could not refrain from shedding a tear; not over Carthage, but for Rome, and repeated this verse of Homer :

“ And Troy shall also behold her fatal day.”

In spite of the imprecations of the Romans against those who should inhabit the place which Carthage had occupied, she rose again under Augustus. Caius Gracchus had there marked out the foundation of a colony. But the wolves during the night removed the posts which marked the limits ; and the senate would not allow the project to be executed.

It was again the friend of Polybius, Scipio Æmilianus, whom the senate charged to ruin Numantia after Carthage. This elegant and polished man, clever tactician, and unmerciful general, was then the executioner of the vengeance of Rome throughout the world. He reduced Carthage to a heap of ashes, condemned all the Italians taken there to be thrown to the lions, as he afterwards cut off the hands of the Spaniards.

Let us return to the wars of Spain.

The brilliant successes of Cato, who boasted of having taken four hundred towns (195), and of Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus (179), who had taken three hundred, had assured to the Romans, Spain, between the Ebro and the Pyrenees, old Castille with part of the new, and Aragon (Carpetans, Celtiberians, &c.) In *ulterior* Spain, they had subjected, by the arms of Scipio, Posthumus, and several others. (195—178.) Portugal, Leon, and Andalusia (Turdetans, Lusitanians, and Vacceans). But the war was interminable. The Romans treated Spain as the Spaniards treated newly-discovered America. It seems as if in this beautiful country they beheld only its rich silver mines. The triumph was adjudged to him who should contribute the most ingots of silver to the public treasury. The senate left the proconsuls other means of enriching themselves. They seized the wheat of the inhabitants, taxed it at an enormous price, and starved the country. Such vexations would have irritated the most pacific men. Judge whether the Spaniards were people to bear them.

This intrepid nation in which the women fought like

men, in which a dying man was never heard to sigh, might be beaten a hundred times, but never reduced to subjection. After a battle, they sent to say to the conquering Romans: "We will allow you to leave Spain on condition that you give to each of us a habit, a horse, and a sword." Prisoners it was impossible to make them. The Spaniards were the worst possible slaves. They murdered their masters, or, if they embarked them, they pierced the vessel, and sunk it. They constantly carried poison with them, that they might not survive a defeat.

This interminable war, the prolongation of which dishonoured all those who thought to have ended it, caused the Roman generals to adopt resolutions of the most atrocious perfidy; a Lucullus in Celtiberia, a Galba in Lusitania, offered fertile lands to the Spanish tribes whom they could not conquer, established them there, and thus dispersing them, were enabled to massacre them. Galba alone destroyed thirty thousand. (151.)

He could not kill all. One man had escaped, who revenged all the others. Viriathes was, like all the Lusitanians, a shepherd, a hunter, a brigand, one of those swift-footed men who make war their whole life, who alone knew their dark mountains (*sierra morena*), their thickets, their narrow defiles, who knew how to keep always firm, sometimes dispersing in the day to reappear in the evening, and again vanishing, leaving mortal blows behind them, and bounding over the peaks and the edges of the mountains and precipices, like goats or chamois.

He successively defeated five prætors (149-145), enclosed the consul Fabius Servilianus, in a defile, and forced him to draw up a treaty *between the Roman nation and Viriathes*. (141.) The senate ratified the treaty, and caused Viriathes to be assassinated during his sleep. This man was not the chief of an ordinary band. He had sought to unite the Lusitanians with the Celtiberians, as the only means of giving to Spain what she wanted to render her more powerful than Rome—unity. His death broke an alliance so dangerous to the Romans; the whole war of Celtiberia was concentrated in Numantia, the capital of the Arvaques. There the tribe of Belli had taken

refuge, driven from their town of Segega. Numantia refused to deliver them up, and during ten years resisted every effort of the Roman power. (143-134.) This town, defended by two rivers, dark valleys, and deep forests, had, they say, only eight thousand warriors. But probably all the brave men of Spain came in turn to renew this heroic population. Pompeius was obliged to treat with them. Marcius only escaped death by delivering up himself and his army. Brutus and Æmilius were forced by famine to raise the siege. Furis and Calpurnius Piso were not more fortunate; not one man at Rome would enlist to fight against Spain. They were obliged to do this little Spanish town the honour to send against it the second Africanus, the destroyer of Carthage. Scipio brought into Spain none but volunteers, friends or clients, *φίλων ἰλην*, as he called them; in all four thousand men. He commenced by a severe reform of discipline; he remodelled the character of the soldier by demanding immense work from him. He encamped and raised the camp, built walls to destroy them, and gradually approached Numantia. He finished by surrounding it with a circumvallation of a league, and a contravallation of two leagues. Not far from these, he raised a wall of ten feet in height by eight thick, with towers, and a ditch bristling with stakes. He closed the Douro, which traversed Numantia, with cables and beams armed with iron points. It was the first time that a town which did not refuse to fight was thus surrounded with lines.

The most valiant of the Numantians, Retogenes Carau-nius, so Appian calls him, forced a passage with some others, and, an olive branch in his hand, ran to all the towns of the Arvaques to obtain help. But these towns feared Scipio too much to afford him any assistance. Lutia alone appeared to interest herself in the fate of Numantia. Scipio surprised it, and insisted that they should deliver four hundred of the inhabitants to him, whose hands he cut off.

The Numantians, now without hope, were reduced to the most horrible famine. They were obliged to eat each other. The sick went first; then the strong began to devour the weak. But on this horrible diet, heart and

strength at length failed them. Not having been able to perish combating, they delivered their arms, and demanded a delay, saying they would destroy themselves. Scipio reserved fifty of them for his triumph.

The submission of Macedonia, and the fall of Corinth, Carthage, and Numantia, brought the universe to the feet of Rome.

BOOK III.

DISSOLUTION OF THE CITY.¹

CHAPTER I.

Extinction of the poor plebeians, replaced in the tillage of the ground by slaves; in the city by freedmen—Struggle of the rich men and the knights against the nobles—Tribunate of the Gracchi, 133-121 --The knights deprive the nobles of the judicial power.

AT the time when all the kings of the earth paid homage to the Roman people, represented by the senate, this people was rapidly becoming extinguished, consumed by the double action of eternal war, and of a devouring system of legislation; it was disappearing from Italy. The Roman, passing his life in camps, beyond the seas, rarely returned to visit his little field. He had, in most cases, indeed, no land or shelter at all, nor any other domestic gods than the eagles of the legions. An exchange was becoming established between Italy and the provinces. Italy sent her children to die in distant lands, and received, in compensation, millions of slaves.²

Of these, some, attached to the soil, cultivated it, and soon enriched it with their ashes.³ Others, crowded in the

¹ This third period is a reproduction of the first. The struggle between the nobles and the knights corresponds with that between the patricians and the plebeians; the social war with the Samnite war, the war with the Transalpine Gauls, with that with the Cisalpine. *Sylla* is an *Appius*, *Cæsar* a *Scipio*, &c.

² See some ingenious ideas on this subject in M. Comte's *Traité de Legislation*, iv.

³ We may be the less surprised at the rapid extinction of the slaves, when we recollect that they were treated not as *persons* but as *things*. In their definition of the word *servi*, Aulus Gellius and Cicero comprehend horses and mules.

city, devoted to the vices of a master, were often enfranchised by him, and became citizens.¹ By degrees, the sons of the freedmen were alone in possession of the city, constituted the Roman people, and, under that name, gave laws to the world. In the time of the Gracchi, they almost exclusively filled the Forum. One day, when, by their clamours, they were interrupting Scipio Æmilianus, he could not endure their insolence, and ventured to say to them: "Silence, spurious sons of Italy." And again: "Ay, clamour as ye will, ye whom I brought bound to Rome, will never make me fear, unbound though ye be now."² The silence by which this terrible denunciation was followed, clearly proves it was merited. The freedmen feared lest, descending from the rostrum, the conqueror of Carthage and Numantia should recognise his African or Spanish captives, and discover under the toga the marks of the whip.

Thus a new people succeeded to the absent or destroyed Roman people. Slaves took the place of masters, proudly occupied the Forum, and in their fantastic saturnalia governed, by their decrees, the Latins and the Italians, who filled the legions. It was soon no longer a question where were the plebeians of Rome. They had left their bones on every shore. Camps, urns, and immortal roads—these were all that remained of them.

Would you know in what a state of misery and exhaustion were the people, after the commencement of the war against Perseus?³ Read the speech of a centurion, who, like many others, had had recourse to the protection of the tribunes, that he might not serve beyond the time

¹ Even these seldom left a family behind them. Indeed, the ordinary condition on which a master enfranchised his slave, was that he should never marry; the object being that all the property the freedman should acquire might fall to his patron in the way of inheritance. Augustus, however, prohibited the exaction of this condition.—Dio. xlvii. 14.

² Val. Max. vi. 2. Vell. Pat. ii. 2.

³ "In comparison with the fleets of the first Punic war, in which as many as seven hundred quinqueremes were engaged, those of the successors of Alexander, of the Median wars, and of the Peloponnesian war, were insignificant. In these only triremes were employed. How happened it that the Romans, masters of the world, could not equip larger fleets?"—Polyb. i.

prescribed.¹ At fifty, this valiant soldier had but the produce of an acre of ground to support his numerous family. It is evident that the multitude of the poor legionaries subsisted entirely on the distributions of money which were made on the occasion of each triumph. The majority had no longer any land; and when they had any, being always absent in the service of the state, they could not cultivate it. The insufficient and precarious resource of the distributions rarely allowed them to marry and to bring up children. The centurion whom the senate thus caused to address the people, was, doubtless, a rare example presented.

Independently of the rapid consumption of men by war, the constitution of Rome sufficed to occasion, after a while, misery and depopulation. This constitution was, as we shall prove, a pure monied aristocracy. Now, in a monied aristocracy, without commerce or trade, that is, without the means of creating new riches, each individual seeks

¹ "When the consul had said all that he thought proper, Spurius Ligustinus, one of those who had appealed to the plebeian tribunes, requested permission from the consul and tribunes to speak a few words to the people; and all having consented, he spoke, we are told, to this effect: 'Romans, my name is Spurius Ligustinus; I am of the Crustumian tribe, and of a family originally Sabine. My father left me one acre of land, and a small cottage, in which I was born and educated, and where I now dwell. As soon as I came to man's estate, my father married me to his brother's daughter, who brought nothing with her but independence and modesty; except, indeed, a degree of fruitfulness that would have better suited a wealthier family. We have six sons and two daughters; the latter are both married; of our sons, four are grown up to manhood, the other two are yet boys. I became a soldier in the consulate of Publius Sulpicius and Caius Aurelius. In the army which was sent over into Macedonia I served as a common soldier against Philip, two years; and in the third year, Titus Quintius Flaminus, in reward of my good conduct, gave me the command of the tenth company of spearmen. When Philip and the Macedonians were subdued, and we were brought back to Italy and discharged, I immediately went a volunteer, with the consul Marcus Porcius into Spain. That no one commander living was a more accurate observer, and judge of merit, is well known to all who have had experience of him, and of other generals, in a long course of service. This commander judged me deserving of being set at the head of the first company of spearmen. A third time I entered a volunteer in the army which was sent against the Ætolians and king Antiochus; and Manius Acilius gave me the command of the first company of first rank men. After Antiochus was driven out of the country, and the Ætolians were reduced, we were

wealth by the only means which can take the place of production—spoliation. The poor man becomes still poorer, the rich still richer. The spoliation of foreigners may for a time supersede the spoliation of the citizen; but, sooner or later, the citizen must be ruined, famished, killed by hunger, if he do not perish in battle.

The old constitution of the patrician curies, where the fathers of the *gentes*, sole land-owners, sole judges and pontiffs, assembled, lance in hand, and alone formed the city, this first constitution had perished. A vain semblance of it was preserved out of respect for the augurs. The wills, the laws made by the tribes, were confirmed by the curies. But then no one came to these assemblies. The thirty curies were represented by thirty lictors. The real power was in the hands of the centuries, that is to say, the army of landowners. The centuries, composed of an unequal number of citizens, participated in the political power, in proportion to their

brought home to Italy, where I served the two succeeding years in legions that were raised annually. I afterwards made two campaigns in Spain; one under Quintus Fulvius Flaccus, the other under Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, prætors. Flaccus brought me with him, among others, to attend his triumph, out of regard to our good services. It was at the particular request of Tiberius Gracchus that I went with him to his province. Four times within a few years was I first centurion of my corps; thirty-four times I was honoured by my commanders with presents for good behaviour. I have received six civic crowns, I have fulfilled twenty-two years of service in the army, and I am upwards of fifty years of age. But, if I had neither served out all my campaigns, nor was entitled to exemption on account of my age, yet, Publius Licinius, as I can supply you with four soldiers instead of myself, I might reasonably expect to be discharged. But what I have said I wish you to consider merely as a state of my case; as to offering anything as an excuse from service, that is what I will never do, so long as any officer enlisting troops shall believe me fit for it. What rank the military tribunes may think I deserve, they themselves can best determine. That no one in the army may surpass me in a zealous discharge of duty, I shall use my best endeavours: and that I have always acted on that principle, my commanders and my comrades can testify. And now, fellow-soldiers, you who assert your privilege of appeal, as you have never, in your youthful days, done any act contrary to the directions of the magistrates and the senate, so will it be highly becoming in you to show yourselves obedient to their orders, and to think every post honourable in which you can act for the defence of the commonwealth.'—Livy, xlii. 93.

wealth, and in inverse proportion to the number of their members. Thus, each century equally giving a vote, the numerous centuries, which were composed of a small number of rich men, had more votes than the last, in which the multitude of the poor were crowded together. The eighteen first centuries, comprising the rich, senators or others, had a right to serve in war on horseback; and, as in the ancient constitution the most noble in the city were designated by the weapon hitherto considered the most honourable, the *lance* (*quir*, lance, whence *quirites*), so, in the military and political organization of the centuries, the richest men of the city derived their name from their service in the cavalry; they were called equites, *horsemen*, knights. Those, however, amongst them, who were senators also, disdained this appellation, and left it to the other rich men who had no political distinction.

Below the *centurie*, composed of those who both paid and served in war, were the *ararii* who only contributed their money. These had no vote. But their political position was scarcely worse than that of the citizens placed in the centuries of the poor. These, consulted last, and when the votes of the rest had decided the majority, were only appealed to as a matter of form, and for the most part, indeed, the men in authority did not take the trouble to collect their votes at all.

The people had thought to escape this tyranny of wealth, by opposing to the comitia by centuries, the comitia by tribes, convoked and presided over by the tribunes. The augurs not being consulted in these assemblies, the rich could not dissipate them at will, in the name of those ancient superstitions which they had inherited from the patricians; but the rich pursued the poor into this asylum. Raised by the assemblies of the centuries to the functions of censors, they placed, every five years, the poor in the city tribes amongst those who voted last. Each tribe giving a single vote, without regard to the number of its members, the rich tribes formed, notwithstanding the small number of their members, more votes than those where the multitude of the poor was assembled. It was the same in the tribes as in the centuries. The radicalism of the system of the tribes

was ideal. It was a consolation for the poor, but in reality, wealth gave power in all the assemblies of Rome. The masters of the state were the rich. They ruled the comitia, recruited the senate, and filled all the offices. They plundered the world in right of being consuls and prætors; as censors they plundered Italy, in adjudging to the rich, to the men of their order, the forming the domains of the state, to the prejudice of the poor, who had held them at the very low price of the old leases. Little by little these lands became the property of the rich tenant, and by the connivance of the censors he ceased to pay the rent of it to the state.

“In their successive conquest of the various countries of Italy, the Romans were in the habit either of appropriating absolutely a portion of the conquered territory, and of building towns upon it, or of establishing, in the already existing towns, a colony composed entirely of Roman citizens. These colonists served as garrisons to secure the conquest. The portion of territory of which they became proprietors by the right of war, they forthwith distributed, if it was in good condition, among the settlers, or sold it, or let it out to farm, according to circumstances; if, on the contrary, it had been devastated in the course of the war, which was often the case, they did not wait to portion it out by lot, but gave it over to any one who chose to undertake its cultivation on the condition of an annual return in kind; a tithe of the produce of arable lands, and a fifth of that of lands susceptible only of being planted. For pasture lands, they received a certain tribute of great and small cattle. Their object in these arrangements was to multiply the Italian race, which they regarded as the fittest to carry on laborious industry, and at the same time to secure for themselves national auxiliaries. The contrary result, however, happened. The rich citizens monopolized the far larger portion of these uncultivated lands, and, after awhile, regarded them as their uncontrovertible property, and afterwards gradually acquired, by fair means or foul, the little holdings of their poor neighbours. The lands, and the flocks and herds upon them, were remitted to the care of slaves; the free-men, for the most part, were called away upon military

service. This again was very advantageous to the proprietors, for the slaves, who were not required to bear arms, increased and multiplied infinitely. The consequence was, that the great men became very rich, and that the slave population made vast progress in the country parts; while the free population constantly diminished from physical misery, exactions of every kind, and military service, with which they were overwhelmed; even when they enjoyed some relaxation from military service, they could do nothing but languish in inaction, for all the land was in the hands of the rich, who employed slaves in preference to free labourers.

“This state of things excited the discontent of the Roman people, for they saw that they were about to be left wholly without Italian auxiliaries, and that their power would be endangered amidst so large a multitude of slaves. No remedy was devised, however, for this evil; it was felt to be neither easy, nor altogether just in itself, arbitrarily to despoil so many citizens of possessions which they had enjoyed for so many years, and which they had, at great expense, improved, embellished, and built upon. In former times, the tribunes of the people had, with much difficulty, effected the passing of a law which prohibited any one person from possessing more than 500 acres of land, or more than 100 head of large and 50 of small cattle. The same law also enjoined the proprietors of lands to employ each a certain number of free-men, as overseers and bailiffs of their estates. This law was consecrated by an oath, and a fine was decreed against all who should contravene it. The surplus of the 500 acres that any one might be found to possess, was to be sold at a low price to the poorer citizens; but neither the law nor the oath had been respected. Some citizens, to save appearances, made a fraudulent transfer of their surplus lands to relations of their own, but the majority wholly braved the law.”¹

The tax affected the small landowner in another manner. He acknowledged and submitted to the tax the full value of his property, *res mancipi*, as the Romans called it, by which was understood land, house, slaves, beasts and bronze money.

¹ Appian, II. 604.

This heavy and variable tax, in which the uncertain produce of the seasons was not taken into account, changed every five years. On the contrary, the rich neither paid for the public lands, which they enjoyed without the right of possession, nor for the *res nec Mancipi*, which constituted a great part of their fortune, whilst they formed no portion of the possessions of the poor. The chief end of the laws of Cato, concerning articles of luxury, was, undoubtedly, to equalize taxation.

Nevertheless, amongst the rich who composed the eighteen equestrian centuries, there was no unity of interest. Those amongst them who had entered the senate, and who had filled important offices, were distinguished by the name of nobles; and they endeavoured to exclude from the senate and from offices, the rich citizens or *knights*. Since the end of the second Punic war, government situations had become so lucrative, both in the distant missions of the consuls and prætors, and in the senate whither flowed the presents of kings, that the nobles disdained the slow profits of usury, and tried in this respect to repress the avidity of the knights. (193-2.) In compensation, they allowed them to usurp, or adjudged to them by means of the census, all the public estates whence they expelled the poor. As for the latter, they gave them, at first, some food to stifle their cries. In 201 and 196, an enormous quantity of wheat was sold to them at a low price. After each triumph (in 197, 196, 191, 189, 187, and 167,) bronze money was distributed to the soldiers. At the same time, lands were bestowed, colonies founded. The Roman soldiers profited by the wealth of which they despoiled the Italians who had declared in favour of Hannibal. (201, 199.) Five colonies were founded in 197 in Campania and in Apulia; six in 194-3 in Lucania and in Brutium. In 192-190, new colonies in Italian Gaul; in 189 took place the foundation of that of Bologna; in 181, of Pisaurum and Pollentia; in 183, of Parma and Modena; in 181, of Gravisæ, of Saturnia, and of Aquilea; Pisa in 180; of Lucca in 177.

Towards the epoch of the war with Perseus, the *nobles*, seeing the world at their feet, no longer cared for the people. What mattered it to them whether they lived or

died? they would not be without slaves to cultivate their land. Besides, had not Cato, the great agriculturist, himself acknowledged, at the close of his life, that pastures were the best possessions? The hand of a free man was not necessary to guide the flocks; a slave would suffice. The labourer, expelled from his land, could no longer remain there, even as a farmer. He took refuge in the town, and had to beg food from those who had expelled him. There, perhaps, he subsisted upon the bounty of the senate, or the gifts of the rich. He awaited the chance of a new colony; but the senate no longer granted wheat or lands, nor a single colony during a half century. What remained for the poor? Their vote: they sold it to the candidates. The latter could well pay for those consulates, those prætorships, which abandoned to them the riches of the kings. But the censors would not leave this resource to the poor. They crowded into the esquilinian tribes, with the freed men, all the citizens who had not land to the value of thirty thousand sesterces. Being banished to one of the last tribes, their vote was rarely necessary. Besides, the senate no longer deigned to consult the people; after the victory of Paulus Æmilius, it alone decided upon war and peace. It substituted for the popular decisions four permanent tribunals (*quæstiones perpetuæ*, 149-144), composed of senators who understood criminal matters, and particularly the crimes of which senators could be guilty—cabal, exaction, and embezzlement of public money. The trial of the crimes was given to the criminals themselves. Thus the senate freed itself from the people. The poor citizen had had nothing but his vote on which to depend for subsistence: this was taken from him. He must die to give place to the freed men, with whom Rome was inundated. Such was the fate of the Roman citizen, and the Latin and Italian still envied him!

The ancient system of Rome, which had constituted her strength and grandeur, was to grant to the towns privileges, more or less extensive, in proportion to their distance from the city. Thus, Rome was immediately surrounded by a girdle of municipal towns, invested with the right of suffrage, and equal in privileges to Rome herself; these were the towns of the Sabines, and Tusculum, Lanuvium,

Aricia, Pedum, Nomentum, Acerræ, Cumæ, Privernum, to which were added (in 188) the towns of Fundi, Formiæ, and Arpinum. Then came the municipal towns, without the right of suffrage, and the fifty colonies founded before the second Punic war, all (excepting three) in central Italy; twenty others were established from 197 to 177, but in a more distant situation. These colonies had each the freedom of the *city*, but without the privilege which gave it value: the right of suffrage. Below the *municipal towns* and the *colonies*, were the *Latins* and Italians. The Italians preserved their laws, and were exempt from tribute. Despoiled of their most productive lands by the Roman colonies, we may say that they had paid the tribute beforehand. The *Latins* had, moreover, the advantage of becoming Roman citizens, by leaving children to represent them in their native town, by filling there some magistracy, *or by convicting a Roman magistrate of collusion*. Is it necessary to say, that no one was bold enough to attempt to become a citizen by this last means?

The Italian, the Latin, the colonist, the municipal without a vote, whose rights, more or less brilliant in appearance, were in reality reduced to supplying soldiers to the Roman army till the extinction of their population, all wished to become Romans. Every day this title became more honourable; every day, the others changed in an inverse manner, and became more humiliating. In the fatal year of the defeat of Perseus (172), a consul for the first time commanded the allies of Præneste to come to meet him, and to prepare a lodging and horses for him. Another consul soon afterwards caused the magistrates of an allied town to be flogged, because the town to which they belonged had not provided him with provisions. A censor removed the roof of the most holy temple in Italy, that of Juno Lucina, to adorn one which he had built. At Ferentum, a prætor who wished to bathe in the public baths expelled every one from them; and for some negligence, caused one of the quæstors of the town to be flogged. At Teanum, the wife of a consul ordered the first magistrate of the place to be treated in the same manner. A mere citizen, carried in a litter upon the shoulders of his slaves,

met a cowherd of Venusium: *Are you carrying a dead body?* said the rustic. This expression cost him his life. He expired under the cudgel.¹

To escape from such tyranny, each man tried to approach Rome, and to establish himself there, if possible. Thus, Rome exercised upon Italy a sort of absorption, tending, in a short time, to make a desert of the country, and overburden the city with an enormous population. Italy, having been unable to destroy Rome, only thought of uniting herself to her, and stifled her in her embrace. The Latins alone being able to become Roman citizens, Latium was thronged with Italians, and Rome with the Latins. The Samnites and the Peligni, being unable to furnish their quota of troops, denounce the removal of four thousand of their families to the Latin town of Fragella. (177.) In the same year, the Latins declared,

¹ Cato, *apud* Aul. Gell. *Noct. Attic.* x. 3.—“In that book, which is entitled, ‘*De Falsis Pugnīs*,’ he thus complained of Quintus Thermus: he said, ‘that his provisions had been ill taken care of by the decemviri; he ordered their garments to be stripped off, and themselves to be beaten with rods. The Brutianū scourged the decemviri, and the eyes of many men beheld the fact. Who can support this insult, this act of tyranny, this slavery? No king had dared to do this; and do you, who are men of honour, allow these things to be done towards honourable men, who are sprung from honourable parents? Where are the bonds of society? where the faith of our ancestors? that you have dared to perpetrate these pointed injuries, tortures, blows, stripes, and pains, and butcheries, upon those whom, to our disgrace and insult, your own countrymen beheld, with many others? But how great grief, how many groans, how many tears, how much lamentation, have I heard! Slaves do not easily brook injuries; but what spirit do you think they possess, and ever while they live will possess, who are of illustrious descent and distinguished virtue?’”

Tiber. Grac. *apud* Aul. Gell. *ib.*—“The consul lately came to Thea-num Sidicinum; he said his wife wished to bathe in the men’s bath. Marcus Marius confided it to the care of the quæstor of Sidicinum, that they who were bathing should be sent away. The wife tells her husband that the baths were not given up to her soon enough, nor were they sufficiently clean. Immediately a post was fixed down in the market-place, and Marcus Marius, the most illustrious man of his city, was led to it; his garments were stripped off, and he was beaten with rods. When the inhabitants of Cales heard this, they passed a decree, that no one should presume to bathe when the Roman magistrates were there. At Ferentum also, our prætor, for a reason of the same sort, ordered the quæstors to be seized. One threw himself from the wall, the other was taken and scourged.”

for the second time, that their towns and their villages would be entirely deserted, on account of the emigration of their citizens to Rome. They made a feigned sale to a Roman of one of their children, who, by emancipation, became a citizen. Servitude was a door by which the sovereign city might be entered. Since 187, Rome had driven from her bosom twelve thousand Latin families. In 172, another expulsion diminished the population by sixteen thousand inhabitants.

Such was the situation of Italy. The extremities of the body became cold and void; all was carried to the heart, which became oppressed. The senator rejected from the senate and public offices the *new man*, the knight, the rich man, and gave up to him, in compensation, the invasion of the land of the poor. The Roman repulsed the colonist from the suffrage, the Latin from the city; the Latin, in his turn, expelled the Italian from Latium, and from the rights of the Latins. Rome had ruined independent Italy by her colonies, in which she crowded the poor; then she ruined colonised Italy by the invasion of the rich, who everywhere bought, claimed, and usurped the lands, and had them cultivated by slaves.

“Besides, the knights were the farmers of the revenue; men whose great rapaciousness increased the public calamities. Instead of giving to such as those the judicial power, they ought to have been continually under the eye of the judges. This we must say in commendation of the ancient French laws—that they have acted towards the officers of the revenue with as great a diffidence as would be observed between enemies. When the judiciary power at Rome was transferred to the publicans, there was then an end of all virtue, polity, laws, and government.

“Of this we find a very ingenious description in some fragments of Diodorus Siculus and Dio. ‘Mutius Scevola,’ says Diodorus,¹ ‘wanted to revive the ancient manners and the laudable custom of sober and frugal living. For his predecessors having entered into a contract with the farmers of the revenue, who at that time were possessed of the judiciary power at Rome, had infected the pro-

¹ Fragment of this author, book xxxvi. in the collection of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, of *virtues and vices*.

vince with all manner of corruption. But Scevola made an example of the publicans, and imprisoned those by whom others had been confined.'

"Dio informs us,¹ that Publius Rutilius his lieutenant was equally obnoxious to the equestrian order, and that upon his return they accused him of having received some presents, and condemned him to a fine; upon which he immediately made a cession of his goods. His innocence appeared in this, that he was found to be worth a great deal less than what he was charged with having extorted, and he showed a just title to what he possessed: but he would not live any longer in the same city with such profligate wretches.

"² The Italians, says Diodorus again, bought up whole droves of slaves in Sicily to till their lands, and to take care of their cattle, but refused them a necessary subsistence. These wretches were then forced to go and rob on the highways, armed with lances and clubs, covered with beasts' skins, and followed by large mastiffs. Thus the whole province was desolated, and the inhabitants could not call anything their own, but what was secured by fortresses. There was neither proconsul nor prætor that could or would oppose this disorder, or that presumed to punish these slaves, because they belonged to the knights, who at Rome were possessed of the judiciary power.³ And yet this was one of the causes of the war of the slaves. But I shall add only one word more. A profession deaf and inexorable, that can have no other view than lucre, that was constantly asking and never granting, that impoverished the rich and increased even the misery of the poor—such a profession, I say, should never have been intrusted with the judiciary power at Rome."⁴

The first war of the slaves broke out in Sicily, in the town of Enna. (138.) A Syrian slave of Apamea, who

¹ Fragment of his history, taken from the *Extract of Virtues and Vices*.

² Fragment of book xxxiv. in the *Extract of Virtues and Vices*.

³ Penes quos Romæ tum judicia erant, atque ex equestri ordine sortito judices eligi in causa prætorum et proconsulum, quibus post administratam provinciam dies dicta erat.

⁴ Montesquieu, *Spirit of Laws*, p. 262.

was called Eunus, presumed to foretel future events in the name of the goddess of Syria, and often happened to prove correct in his predictions.¹ He had also acquired much consideration amongst the slaves by emitting flames from his mouth. A little fire in a nut enabled him to perform this miracle. Eunus, amongst other predictions, frequently foretold that he should be king. His future royalty was the subject of much amusement. Many persons summoned him to their festive meetings in order to make him speak, and gave him something to purchase his favour beforehand. What, however, did not prove quite so laughable was, that the prediction was realized. The slaves of a very cruel man named Damophilus began the insurrection, and made the prophet their king. All the masters of slaves were killed. The insurgents only spared the daughter of Damophilus, who had ever shown herself merciful towards them. A Cilician who had roused the slaves in other parts of the country, submitted to Eunus, who soon found himself at the head of two hundred thousand slaves, and caused himself to be called king Antiochus. The rumour of the Sicilian revolt having spread, similar attempts occurred in Attica, Delos, Campania, and even in Rome. The generals sent against Eunus had been shamefully defeated, and for four years consecutively, four prætors were vanquished. The slaves had seized on several places. Rupilius at last besieged them in Tauromenium, a sea-port town, whence they might have opened communications with Italy. He reduced them to such a state of famine that they ate one another. One of them having betrayed the citadel, Rupilius seized on them all, and had them thrown down a precipice. There was similar treachery, attended with equal success, at Enna, notwithstanding the heroic bravery of Eunus's Cilician lieutenant, who was killed in a sally. The king of the slaves, who was not equally brave, took refuge in a cavern, where he was found with his cook, his baker, his bather, and his jester. (132.) Atrocious regulations kept, for the space of twenty-eight

¹ Diod. Frag. xxxiv.

years, the slaves in check, who were discouraged by the ill success of this first revolt.¹

CONTINUATION OF CHAPTER I.

Tribunate of the Gracchi, 133-121.

If it had been possible for one man to find a remedy for all these evils, to restore to the lower classes of the people the lands and the love of labour they had lost, to put a stop to the tyranny of the senate and the cupidity of the knights, to arrest that flood of slaves coming from all parts of the world to spread over Italy and destroy its free population, if this had been possible for one man, that man would have been the master and the benefactor of the empire. Lælius, and perhaps Scipio Æmilianus,² who shared all his views, had thought of this reform, but they perceived its impracticability, and were wise enough to give it up. The Gracchi made the attempt, and thus lost their life, their honour, and even their virtue.

Since the first Scipio Africanus had been so near to tyranny, an aim was marked out for the ambition of the Roman aristocracy. The patrician families of the Scipios, and of the Appii, and the equestrian family of the Sempronii,³ although at first foes and rivals, had concluded

¹ Cicero in Verrem. *de Supplic.* c. 3.—“All the pretorian edicts forbade slaves to carry arms. An enormous boar was given to L. Domitius, prætor in Sicily. Astonished at the size of the animal, he asked who had killed it. He was told the shepherd of a Sicilian. He sent for the man, who hastened to present himself, expecting praise and reward. Domitius asked him with what he killed the boar. The slave replied: ‘With a spear.’ Whereupon the prætor instantly ordered him to be crucified.”

² Plut. *Life of Tib. Gracchus.*

³ This equestrian origin of the Gracchi will appear an important circumstance, when we bear in mind that of all the reforms of their tribunate, there remained but one: the transference of the judicial power from the senators to the knights. Perhaps their proposition to give the freedom of the city to all Italians, and even their agrarian laws, were but a means of conveying to the equestrian order that judicial power which involved all other powers. I should be inclined to adopt this

by closely leaguings together. Tib. Sempronius Gracchus, whilst he was tribune, protected the African and Asiatic Scipios, and as a reward obtained as his wife the celebrated Cornelia, daughter of the former. He was censor with Appius Pulcher, and was less popular, plebeian as he was. Appius gave his daughter's hand to his colleague's eldest son, the celebrated Tiberius Gracchus, with whom he was triumvir for the execution of the agrarian law. This race of the Appii, from the time of the decemvirs to that of the emperor Nero, during whose reign it became extinguished, always aimed at tyranny, sometimes with the aid of the aristocratic party and sometimes with that of the demagogues.

Gracchus had by Cornelia two sons, Tiberius and Caius, and as many daughters, one of whom was given in marriage to Scipio Nasica, the chief of the aristocracy, and the murderer of his brother-in-law Tiberius; the other married the son of Paulus Æmilius, Scipio Æmilianus, who perished by means of the united machinations of his wife, his mother-in-law Cornelia, and his brother-in-law, Caius. The contempt of Scipio for his wife would have drawn upon him the hatred of his mother-in-law, Cornelia, even if the ambitious daughter of the first Scipio had not already beheld with envy that the second Africanus was inheriting a glory which she wished to reserve for her sons. She long complained that she was more frequently termed the mother-in-law of Scipio Æmilianus, than the mother of the Gracchi. When the latter had perished in the rash enterprises into which she had precipitated them, she retired to her delightful house at Misenum, where, in the company of the Grecian rhetoricians and sophists by whom she was surrounded, she took pleasure in relating to the strangers who came to see her the tragical end of her children. This ambitious woman had early prepared in her sons all the instruments

view, but for a passage in Sallust (*Jug.* c. 242). The Italians had more to lose than to gain by the triumph of the Gracchi. In fact, they entreated Scipio Æmilianus to prevent the execution of the agrarian law. Cicero (*De Rep.*) says, "Tiberius Gracchus, while the citizens themselves had no reason to complain of him, respected neither the rights of, nor treaties with, the allies or the Latins."

of tyranny,¹ such as eloquence, in which they surpassed any man of their times, bravery—Tiberius was the first to scale the walls of Carthage—probity itself,² theirs was not the ambition which stoops to avarice. The stoics who brought up the two children,³ as they had brought up Cleomenes, the reformer of Sparta, had impressed upon them that levelling policy which is so useful to tyranny, and the classical fables of the equality of property under Romulus and Lycurgus. The state of Italy

¹ We gather this from the whole narrative of Plutarch. She repented what she had done, when too late, and endeavoured to prevail upon Cains Gracchus to recede, at a time when he would probably have been destroyed, under any circumstances.

Letter from Cornelia to C. Gracchus : “ I would swear, with consecrated words that, next to those who killed Tiberius Gracchus, no enemy has ever given me such pain and vexation as thou by this conduct of thine; thou who shouldst have replaced for me all the children I have lost; who shouldst have taken exact care that I had the least possible anxiety in my old age; who shouldst have had no other object in life than to please me; and who shouldst have regarded it as a crime to do aught irksome to me—to me, who have so short a time to live, but who, even in this short space, cannot keep thee from vexing me, and from afflicting the republic. When are we to pause in this career? When is our family to quit its madness? When are we to cease tormenting each other, and injuring the state? At least, wait until I am dead, ere thou demandest the tribunate, and proceedest in thy course. And yet, how, when I am dead, wilt thou be able to offer up to me the worship due to ancestors, and invoke the divinity of thy mother, without a blush at imploring the protection and blessing of that divinity dead, which, when living, thou neglectedst and paidst no heed to? May Jupiter grant that thou give up thy mad purpose! If thou perseverest, thou wilt never, I am sure, to thy latest moment, be at peace with thyself.”—Cornel. Nepos, *in Vit.*

² *Fragment of a Speech of Tiberius Gracchus* : “ I conducted myself in the province as I thought best calculated for your benefit, and without in the least consulting my own ambition. There were no lavish festivals in my house, no debauchery. Your sons found at my table more reserve and propriety than in the general's tent. There is no one can say I ever received from him even the value of a penny, by way of present, or that he was ever put to expense on my account; yet I was two years in that province. If ever I attempted to seduce the slave of another man, brand me as the most flagitious of men. My conduct was ever chaste with the female slaves, and you may judge then whether it was not so with your sons. Romans, the girdles which I took with me from Rome, full of money, I bring back empty—very different from others who have taken with them amphoræ filled with wine, and have brought them back filled with gold and silver.”

³ Plut. *Paral. of Cleom. and Tib. Gracchus.*

furnished them, moreover, with a sufficient supply of specious motives. When Tiberius traversed Italy on his way into Spain, he saw with grief that the country was entirely abandoned, or merely cultivated by slaves.¹

Tiberius, the elder of the two brothers, although naturally gentle, was led to take a violent part by a casual circumstance. Whilst quæstor of Mancinus in Spain, he had signed and guaranteed the shameful treaty which saved the army. The senate declared the treaty void, gave up Mancinus, and wished to give up Tiberius. The people, and doubtless the knights to whom his family belonged, saved him from this disgrace, and secured to the senate an implacable foe.

The first agrarian law which he proposed during his tribuneship was not, however, it must be confessed, either unjust or violent. He had planned it with his father-in-law Appius, the grand-pontiff Crassus, and Mutius Scævola, the celebrated lawyer. He did not pretend, like Licinius Stolo, to limit to five hundred acres the patrimonial lands of the rich. He only took away from them that territory which they had usurped from the public property, of which he even left them five hundred acres each, and two hundred and fifty more in the name of their male children. They were indemnified for the remainder, which was to be divided amongst the poor citizens. The opposition was strong. The rich considered those lands, which had, for the most part, been usurped from time immemorial, as their own property. Their resistance irritated Tiberius, who, out of spite,

¹ Tiberius said in his harangue to the people: "The wild beasts of Italy have their caves to retire to, but the brave men who spill their blood in her cause, have nothing left but air and light. Without houses, without any settled habitations, they wander from place to place with their wives and children; and their generals do but mock them, when, at the head of their armies, they exhort their men to fight for their sepulchres and domestic gods; for, among such numbers, perhaps there is not a Roman who has an altar that belonged to his ancestors, or a sepulchre in which their ashes rest. The private soldiers fight and die to advance the wealth and luxury of the great; and they are called masters of the world, while they have not a foot of ground in their possession." This explains the rapid depopulation which took place. In the time of Livy, Latium was already well nigh a desert.

proposed a new law, by which he lessened the indemnity, the five hundred acres, and ordered them to relinquish the public lands without delay. This was ruining the individuals who had no other property, and despoiling those who had fairly acquired it by purchase, marriage, &c. It was even depriving, not only the landlords, but also their creditors of their due. Tiberius, nevertheless, followed up his project with blind eagerness; he even violated the power of the tribunes, by inducing the people to depose his colleague Octavius, whose *veto* was a hindrance to him, and substituting for him one of his own clients. He also caused himself to be named triumvir, for the execution of his law, with his father-in-law Appius and his young brother Caius, then serving in the army. Finally, notwithstanding the rights of the senate, who had long been in the habit of regulating all the new conquests, he ordered that the inheritance of the king of Pergamus, which had been bequeathed by that prince to the Roman people, should be farmed out for the benefit of the poor citizens.

After having drawn upon himself such violent animosity, Tiberius was evidently lost if he did not succeed in being tribune a second time, in order to carry out his law and to interest in his life and power—by sharing the lands amongst them—a multitude of new proprietors. But the people was less anxious to know by whom the lands were to be portioned out. Dreading a failure, Tiberius sought out new auxiliaries; he promised the knights that they should share the judicial power with the senators, and led the Italians to hope for the citizenship.¹ Ever since the lower class of the people had chiefly consisted of freed slaves, and the senate had assumed all legal authority in criminal matters, the chiefs of the people, the rich—or the knights—claimed power, as being now the sole representatives of the people. Having long been deprived of those offices which gave admission to the senate, they wished to influence, by indirect means at least, this powerful body, and to judge their masters. But at the

¹ Plutarch, *Life of Tib. Gracchus*.

same time, what the knights feared most, was the carrying into execution of the agrarian laws, by which they would have been despoiled of the public lands, of which they were the principal holders. They also dreaded the admission to the right of suffrage of the Roman colonists, from whom a great part of those lands had been usurped; and still more, the grant of the same right to the Italian populations, to whom those lands originally belonged; and who, once rendered equal to their conquerors, might be tempted to seize on them once more. Thus the rich Romans, the knights, who were the rivals of the senate for the judicial power, were still more inimical to the lower classes of the Roman and Italian people, whom they kept in a state of poverty and starvation. Tiberius, by endeavouring to secure the favour of both at the same time, sought for a contradictory thing. He was not supported by any one. The Roman and Italian poor saw in him the friend of the knights, who detained their property; and the knights and senators deemed him the author of those agrarian laws which compelled them to restitution.

The few followers left to him amongst the rustic tribes being withdrawn during the summer by field labour,¹ he remained alone in the city with the populace, which daily grew more indifferent to his fate. Having no resource against the machinations of the rich, save in the compassion of the former, he appeared on the public square, attired in mourning, holding his young son by the hand, and recommending him to the citizens.² He endeavoured, at the same time, to justify himself from the deposition of Octavius, and employed all his eloquence in setting forth that fatal secret, which, had he consulted his real interest, he ought to have buried in oblivion: namely, that the

¹ Appian, ii. 611.

² "Romans, if I, the descendant of so noble a family, I who for you have lost my brother, and who, with this child, alone remain of the house of Scipio Africanus and of Tiberius Gracchus, if I were to ask you to allow me at length to seek repose, that so our family may not altogether be destroyed, and that some wreck of it may remain; I know not whether you would accord this willingly."—*Speech of Caius Gracchus, apud fragmentum nuper repertum in inedito Ciceronis interprete.*

most sacred characters, that of a king, a vestal, or a tribune, might be effaced. His enemies turned this imprudent excuse against himself.

At an early hour of the next day, he occupied the Capitol with the populace. He carried under his robe a *dolon*, a kind of dagger used by the Italian brigands. The rich, who were supported by a few of the tribunes inimical to Gracchus, having endeavoured to disturb the voting by which he was to be raised to a second tribunate, he gave to his followers the signal on which they had agreed. They distributed the half-pikes with which the lictors were armed, rushed on the rich, wounded several of their number, and drove them away from the place.¹ Divers rumours were spread abroad: some said that he was going to have his colleagues deposed; others, seeing him carry his hand to his head in order to show that there was a design against his life, exclaimed that he was asking for a crown. Then Scipio Nasica, the sovereign pontiff, and one of the principal monopolizers of the public lands,² summoned the consul Mucius, in the presence of the whole senate, to put himself at the head of the good cause, and to march against the tyrant. The imperturbable lawyer coldly replied: "If by fraud or by force, Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus obtain a *plebiscitum* contrary to the laws of the republic, I shall not ratify it." Then Scipio exclaimed: "The first magistrate betrays the country; let those who wish to save it follow me!" He threw back, as he spoke, his toga over his head, either because this was the signal he had agreed upon with his party, or that he thought fit to veil his features at the aspect of the Capitol, whose asylum he was about to violate. All the senators followed him with their clients and their slaves, who were waiting for them. They

¹ Appian, *ut sup.*

² He had, moreover, a personal hatred to Tiberius. *Val. Max.* i. 1. —"Caius Figulus and Scipio Nasica, being nominated in the comitia presided over by Tiberius Gracchus, the latter, having already entered upon his office, informed the College of Augurs that, on consulting the Book of Public Ceremonies, he had perceived an informality in the manner in which the auspices had been observed. Hereupon the two consuls were obliged to return from Gaul and Corsica, and to abdicate the consulate; year of the republic, 591."

snatched sticks from their adversaries, picked up the fragments of broken benches, everything, in short, that came within their reach, and drove their enemies to the precipice, on the edge of which stood the Capitol. The priests had closed the temple for some time; Gracchus went round it. He was at length overtaken by one of his colleagues, who killed him with a broken bench. Three hundred of his friends were stoned, and beaten to death, and their bodies, which were refused to their families, were cast into the Tiber. Plutarch, the romance writer, asserts that the conquerors were so barbarous as to shut up one of the partisans of Tiberius in a tub with serpents and vipers. They, however, respected the heroic fidelity of the philosopher Blossius of Cumæ, the friend of Tiberius and his chief counsellor. He declared that he had in every respect followed the will of Tiberius. "And what," said Scipio Nasica, "if he had told thee to burn the Capitol?" "He would never have ordered me to do such a thing." "But if he had given thee that order?" "I should have burned it."¹

It may be that Scipio Nasica thought to obtain from the aristocratic party the supreme power which Tiberius had hoped to receive from the common people. The ferocious chief of the party of nobles, who stained himself with the blood of his brother-in-law, and with the murder of an inviolable magistrate, enjoyed, nevertheless, the reputation of the most religious of Romans. It was at his house that the Bona Dea, when brought from Pessinum to Rome, preferred to descend; these relations with the east may, perhaps, explain his surname of Serapion. No one had a more insolent contempt for the people than he. One day, when he took the hardened hand of a labourer whose vote he was soliciting,² he asked him, "if he was in the habit of walking on his hands?" After the murder of Tiberius, the senate delivered the people from this odious man, and, perhaps, relieved themselves of a tyrant who would have had all the enemies of the agrarian law as satellites. He was, under an honourable pretext, sent into Asia, where he ended his days.

¹ Val. Max. viii. 8.

² Val. Max. vii. 5; ii. 4; iii. 2, 7; viii. 15.

What proves that the senate were less interested than the knights in the question of the agrarian law¹ is, that it did not fear to permit the execution of it after the death of Tiberius. It is true, that it relied on the innumerable difficulties which would attend the execution of that law.

“After the tragic end of Tiberius Gracchus and the death of Appius Claudius, there were substituted for them, Fulvius Flaccus and Papirius Carbo, who were called upon to carry the agrarian law into operation in conjunction with the younger Gracchus. The possessors of lands omitted to give unto the state a list of their estates. Hereupon a proclamation was issued, citing the recusants before the tribunals, which gave rise to a multitude of very embarrassing processes. Wherever, in the vicinity of the lands which came under the operation of the law, there were others which had been either sold or distributed to kinsmen, in order to measure a part it was necessary to survey the whole, and then examine in virtue of what law the sales or distribution had taken place. In most cases there were no deeds of sale or of grant; and even when such documents were produced, they were full of irregularity and contradiction. When they came to be compared with the surveys, there was found to be an utter confusion of lands planted and built upon, and lands bare, waste, and marshy. In the outset, the conquered districts had been very negligently lotted out; and the decree ordering all persons to put their waste lands under cultivation, had induced many persons to lay waste the lands lying immediately around their own, so as to confound the aspect of both the one and the other. The lapse of time, too, had given all these lands a new face, so that the usurpations of the rich citizens, considerable as they might be, were difficult to ascertain; the main result, therefore, was a general confusion, without satisfactory settlement, a chaos of transferrings and changes, with very immaterial vindication of justice.

“Worn out with these and such like miseries, and with the arbitrary precipitation which the triumvirs displayed, the Italians determined upon adopting as their

¹ Appian, p. 615—17.

protector against the manifold acts of injustice inflicted upon them, Cornelius Scipio, the destroyer of Carthage. The zeal he had experienced on their part in the wars, did not permit him now to refuse them his aid. He proceeded to the senate, and without directly impeaching the Gracchian law, out of consideration for the plebeians, gave a long review of the difficulties of executing it, and concluded by proposing that the cognizance of these disputes should be removed from the triumvirs, on the ground of their being objects of suspicion with the parties whom it was sought to evict.

"The proposition seemed just enough, and was accordingly adopted. The consul Tudetanus was appointed by the senate to hear all these causes; but he had scarcely entered upon his new position, than, alarmed by the difficulties it presented, he hastily departed for Illyria. No one, however, appeared before the triumvirs. This state of things excited against Scipio the indignation of the populace. Twice had they, despite the great men, and despite the laws, elevated him to the consulship, yet now, they said, he was favouring the Italians at their expense. The enemies of Scipio, taking advantage of these reproaches, sought to aggravate them, by saying publicly, that he had determined to abrogate the agrarian law altogether, by force of arms, and at whatever expenditure of blood."¹

The hatred of the populace for the protector of the Italians burst out, when he dared to brand the memory of Gracchus, and to reveal the servile origin of the new people of Rome. The tribune Carbo asked him what he thought of the death of Tiberius. "I think," said the hero, "that he was justly killed;" and when the people murmured, he added those terrible words which we related at the beginning of this chapter. *The spurious sons of Italy* were silent, but their chiefs appreciated their humiliation and their fury. Caius Gracchus exclaimed, "We must rid ourselves of this tyrant." This was not the first time that the demagogues had had recourse to the most atrocious violence. Not long before, the tribune C. Atinius, having been recently expelled from

¹ Appian, p. 615, 1

the senate by the censor Metellus, had endeavoured to precipitate him from the Tarpeian rock. "One evening," says Appian, "Scipio had retired with his tablets, to meditate the discourse he had to deliver the next day to the people. In the morning he was found dead, but without any wound on his person. According to some, he had been murdered by the contrivance of Cornelia, mother of the Gracchi, who feared the abolition of the agrarian laws, and of her daughter, Sempronia, Scipio's wife, who, ugly and barren, was disliked by her husband and fully returned his hatred. According to some, he had destroyed himself, in despair at finding that he could not accomplish that which he had undertaken to do. Some say that his slaves, on being put to the torture, confessed that, during the night, some strangers, admitted by a private door, had strangled their master; but that, in the first instance, they had not declared the fact, because they knew that the people would rejoice at his violent death."

Satisfied with this vengeance, and menaced by the Italians, who still introduced themselves into the tribes, and who had contrived to raise one of their number to the consulship, the people allowed the senate to suspend the agrarian law, and to remove Gracchus, by appointing him pro-quæstor to the prætor of Sardinia. The senate profited by this moment to banish the Italians from the town, and to strike terror into the allies, by razing the town of Fregella, which they said meditated a revolt. Caius was believed to be no stranger to the plot; and such was his influence with the towns of Italy, that they granted to the army, at his personal solicitation, the clothing which the province of Sardinia had, with the approbation of the senate, refused.

Whilst the senate thought they were retaining Caius in Sardinia, by continuing him in his office, he suddenly reappeared, and proved to the tribunal of the censors and prætors that his return was conformable with the laws. In him the people recognised Tiberius, but more vehement, more impassioned. His action was vivid and animated; he moved around and around the rostrum whilst he was haranguing. His powerful voice filled the whole Forum, and he was obliged to have behind him a flute-

player, the sound of whose instrument brought his voice back to its tone and moderated its force.¹ When he presented himself for the tribuneship, the concourse of Italians in Rome was so great that the enormous Field of Mars could not contain the crowd, and they gave their votes from the roofs of the houses. The following year he retained the tribuneship, in virtue of a law made expressly for the purpose.

His first laws were framed to revenge his brother. He adopted all his projects, and even extended them. He first confirmed the Portia lex, which required the confirmation of the people for every condemnation to death; he ordered for every month a sale of wheat at a low price; for every year a distribution of lands; and this he commenced by establishing several colonies. The agrarian law, thus progressively executed, was no longer presented under so menacing an aspect. He farmed out the heritage of Attalus for the benefit of the poor citizens; he forbade their being enlisted before the age of seventeen. Up to this time, his system was exclusively in the interest of the Roman people.

But in his second tribuneship he was obliged to summon contradictory interests to his aid. At first, he injured the senate to the advantage of the knights, that is to say, of the rich, by giving to the latter the judicial power, which subjected to them all the nobles. But he injured the rich at the same time with the nobles, by depriving them of the right to vote first in the comitia of the centuries, and to decide the majority by the influence of their example. The execution of the agrarian law principally affected two sorts of persons; the knights and other rich possessors of the lands confiscated from the Italians, and the Italians, whom it threatened to deprive of what property remained to them. Caius thought to attach the knights to his interests, by giving them the power of judging causes; he expected to conciliate the Italians by granting them all the freedom of the city. Neither party was grateful; for Caius was nothing in the opinion of either but the defender of the agrarian law, which delivered up their property to the Roman populace. The populace impatiently expected

¹ Plut. *Life of Caius Gracch.* Vol. Max. viii. 10.

the lands which had been promised to it; and, whilst waiting, cursed him who had deprived them of sovereignty, by granting suffrage to the Italians, whose numbers would keep them in the minority and in subjection.

It was very evident that the omnipotence of Caius in Rome would not be employed solely to the advantage of Rome. At the same time that he occupied the poor in all parts of Italy in constructing those wonderful roads which pierced the mountains, filled up the valleys, and seemed to make a single city of the whole peninsula; he surrounded himself with Grecian artists, welcomed foreign ambassadors, caused Spanish wheat to be sold for the benefit of the plundered Spaniards, and proposed the re-establishment of the old rivals of Rome—Capua, Tarentum, and Carthage.¹ This last project, which Cæsar revived, revealed in Caius the cosmopolitan genius of the dictator, whom he equalled in power. At thirty years of age he had acquired, by eloquence, that absolute authority which the conqueror of Pompey had not gained till he was more than fifty, after the victories of Pharsalia and Munda. Caius, who identified his glory with these foundations, wished to be present in person at the rebuilding of Carthage, and went into Africa, leaving the city to the intrigues of the senate; perhaps, also, he could not endure to witness his decreasing popularity.

The senate took a sure means of depriving Caius of his popularity; this was to exhibit its members as greater demagogues than he. It won over a tribune, Lucius Drusus, and made him propose the establishment of twelve colonies at once, without demanding the tax which was paid by all the colonies established by Gracchus. It conciliated the Latins, by making a law which forbade the flogging of their soldiers. At the same time, one Fannius, whom Caius had raised to the consulship, turned against him, and loaded him with eloquent invectives, designating him an accomplice of the murderers of Scipio.

¹ "He was the first to establish colonies out of Italy, a thing which the Romans had hitherto kept from doing, in the conviction that colonies often surpass the parent cities; as Tyre remained inferior to Carthage, Phocia to Marseilles, Corinth to Syracuse, Miletus to Cyzicus."—Vell. Patere, ii. 15.

From this time the history of the unfortunate Caius is but a repetition of that of his brother. He failed in his application for a third tribuneship, and saw his most bitter enemy, Opimius, raised to the consulship. Reduced to implore the support of the populace, he left his house on the Palatine hill, to dwell with the poor and obscure citizens. He flattered the populace, at the same time that he called the Italians to Rome. A decree of the senate deprived him of this last succour, by banishing all the allies from the town. Then commenced an unequal struggle in Rome. Opimius undertook to abrogate the laws of Caius; the latter determined to sustain them with a portion of the Italian populace, whom his mother Cornelia had caused to enter Rome disguised as reapers.¹ A lictor belonging to the consul, having insolently repulsed the friends of Caius, was pierced with wounds. According to others, it was a citizen who had laid hands on Caius. Plutarch, who represents this affair as having happened by chance, admits, however, that the man was killed with bodkins which had been prepared expressly for this purpose.² The next day the body was exposed in the square. The senate ordered the consul *to provide for the welfare of the republic*. The senators armed themselves, the knights brought each two armed men. Fulvius, on his part, had distributed to the populace the arms which he had taken from the Gauls during his consulship; as for Caius, he would not arm himself, and only took a little poniard, which would, at all events, assure to him his liberty. When he traversed the square, he stopped before the statue of his father and burst into tears; he then went to die with his followers upon Mount Aventine. Opposite the plebeian mountain, upon the Capitoline hill, were stationed the aristocracy, who were very superior in numbers. Fulvius twice sent his young son to them with a Caduceus in his hand. The barbarians retained the child and put him to death. The promise of an amnesty detached from Caius nearly all his followers. Those who determined to remain with him, were shot by the Cretan archers. He wished to stab himself:

¹ App. *Bell. Civ.*

² Plut. *Life of Caius Gracch.*

two of his friends disarmed him, and allowed themselves to be killed at the bridge of Sublicius, to give him time to escape. Having retired into *the wood of the Furies*, he received his death-blow from the hand of a faithful slave, who killed himself directly afterwards. A price had been set upon his head; the consul promised to give for it its weight in gold. One Septimuleius took out the brains and substituted melted lead. Three thousand men were killed at the same time; their goods were confiscated, and their widows were forbidden to wear mourning. The consul Opimius raised a temple to Concord to consecrate the memory of so glorious a victory.

Thus perished the last of the Gracchi by the hand of the nobles; but when struck with a mortal blow, he threw some dust towards heaven, and from this dust sprang Marius!

CHAPTER II.

Continuation of the struggle between the nobles and the knights—The knights obtain the military command—Marius defeats the barbarians in the south and north (Numidians and Cimbrians), 121-100.

CAIUS MARIUS was a native of the environs of Arpinum, a town recently raised to the rank of a municipium. He did not go to Rome at an early age, always remained a stranger to the manners of the city, and would never learn Greek. Diodorus tells us that he was originally a publican, or farmer of the public revenue; Velleius, that he was of an equestrian family; this appears to be confirmed by Cicero, his countryman, whose grandfather was, as he says, the adversary of the father of Marius in the factions of Arpinum.¹ An inferior politician, Marius had no other genius than for war. At the siege of Numantia, where he first fought, Scipio Æmilianus discovered his

¹ Vell. Patere, ii. ii.—At this period the publicans were all knights, or agents of knights. Diod. Sic. on *Virtues and Vices*. See Cicero, *De Sigill.* ii. 16, 36.

military genius. When he was asked who should succeed him at some future time, he struck Marius on the shoulder, and said: "Perhaps this young man." When, on his return to Rome, he demanded the tribuneship, every one knew his name, but no one had seen him. The favour of Metellus, who protected his family, decided his election. The aristocracy was then omnipotent. Of all the reforms of the Gracchi, only one remained; the judicial power was still, notwithstanding the efforts of the senate, in the hands of the knights; that is to say, of the usurers, the rich, and the detainers of the public land. The senators and knights had agreed to annul the agrarian law. The senate had usurped the previous examination of every law proposed to the people. Thus the two orders shared the republic. The senators possessed the offices and political power, the knights the money, the lands, and the tribunals. Their mutual connivance accelerated the ruin of the people, which was consummated in silence.

Marius, a publican, and descended from an equestrian family, could not remain faithful to the party of the nobles. It was, nevertheless, a great astonishment for the aristocracy, when the client of the Metelli dared, without consulting the senate, to propose a law which tended to repress elections in the comitia and the tribunals. One of the Metelli attacked the law and the tribune, and supported the consul, who proposed to call Marius to account. Marius entered, but it was to order the licitors to conduct Metellus to prison.¹ The senate was obliged to withdraw its decree. The common people of Rome were not better satisfied with Marius than the nobles, when they saw him oppose a distribution of wheat, proposed by one of his colleagues.

The Italians were too much divided in interests, and the Roman populace was too weak for any one to rise to power by favour of either body. It was necessary to become signalized by military glory in the eyes of the two parties, and to form in the army a more solid support than that to which the Gracchi had confided themselves.

¹ Plutarch, *Life of Marius*,

Marius was probably reconciled to Metellus, as he was appointed quæstor to Cæcilius Metellus for the war in Numidia.

From the epoch of the ruin of Carthage, and even during the lifetime of the *faithful* Massinissa, the Romans eyed with suspicion the kingdom of the Numidians, who were no longer useful to them. They would not accept their help in the last Punic war. During the reign of the cowardly and weak Micipsa, the son of Massinissa, they feared nothing in that quarter. But this prince had been obliged, at his death, to share his kingdom between his two sons and his nephew, the ardent and intrepid Jugurtha, a true Numidian, designed for the throne by the voice of the Numidians, and cherished by the Romans since the siege of Numantia, whether Micipsa had sent him, hoping that he might perish there. He was, like his grandfather Massinissa, the best horseman in Africa, and the most ardent huntsman; always the first to strike the lion.¹ Jugurtha has been regarded as an usurper; those who consider him as such, ought first to have ascertained whether a law of inheritance existed in the deserts of Numidia. The barbarians generally chose for a king the most worthy member of a family. The Numidians thought that the will of a deceased person could not overbalance the rights of a nation. They regarded, and not without reason, the sharing out of Numidia as its subjection to the will of Rome, and maintained with heroic obstinacy the chief whom they had chosen. Jugurtha first caused Hiempsal to be assassinated, the younger of his rivals, whom the people accused of cruelty. Then, being supported by the friends he had made amongst the Romans at the siege of Numantia, and by the senators, whose favours he bought at any price, he obtained a new division of the government, between himself and Adherbal, the surviving brother. At last, finding himself sure of the whole people, he overthrew this last obstacle to the unity of Numidia. Adherbal, being besieged, applied for help to foreigners, to the Romans. Some commissioners were sent, less to protect him than to prevent the re-union of a people so formidable

¹ Sallust. *Jugurth. War*, c. 6.

on account of its warlike spirit. They arrived too late. Jugurtha, having become master of his rival, had caused him to perish in torments; this cruelty would have been gratuitous and inexplicable, if he had not considered the anti-national candidate as an usurper. He even massacred all the Italians who traded with Cirtha; which proves that, in his hatred, he confounded Rome with Adherbal.

Meantime, the people at Rome exclaimed against the mercenariness of the great, who had allowed Jugurtha time to unite, under his command, the whole of Numidia. The consul, Calpurnius Piso, went into Africa with an army. He took several towns, but only to secure a higher bribe for retreating. A fresh disturbance arose among the people. The tribune Memmius commanded Jugurtha to come and justify himself at Rome. The king of Numidia relied so much upon the corruption of the judges, that he did not fear to obey this order. The people assembled to hear this justification; Memmius ordered him to speak; another tribune, gained by Numidia, commanded him to be silent. It was thus that they trifled with the people. Meantime, one of the descendants of Massinissa demanded of the senate the throne of Numidia. The danger was urgent with Jugurtha. He did not hesitate to cause this new competitor to be assassinated. This time the crime was flagrant; Jugurtha quitted Rome, and said, turning once more towards the walls: *A town to sell! It only wants a purchaser.*

Albinus, who was the first sent, did nothing against Jugurtha; Aulus, his brother, and his lieutenant in his absence, allowed himself to be taken by the Numidians, and only escaped from their hands by passing under the yoke. This disgrace, which had been unknown in Rome since Numantia, so distinctly expressed the incapacity or the corruption of the aristocracy, that the senate from that time forward made serious efforts to end the war. It confided the superintendence of it to Cecilius Metellus, and gave him a new army. (109.) The first and most difficult victory to obtain, was the re-establishment of discipline. In a country of deserts, interspersed with some few towns, in the presence of an enemy rapid as thought, and which could only be attained where and

when it pleased, it was necessary to advance only with a sure aim, and to try to secure the strong places. The ability of Jugurtha rendered this system extremely difficult to follow. The Romans having taken Vaea, Jugurtha suddenly appeared in an advantageous position, and was on the point of conquering with his light troops the Roman tactics and the strength of the legions. He followed Metellus everywhere, disturbing the springs, destroying the pasturage, and carrying off the foragers. He even dared twice to attack the Roman camp before Sicea, raised the siege, and thus obliged Metellus to take up his winter quarters out of Numidia.¹ The Roman, however, employed less praiseworthy means to conquer him. He secretly bribed the friends of Jugurtha to kill their master or deliver him into his hands. These various fears decided the Numidian to negotiate. He submitted to everything. He gave up to Metellus two hundred thousand pounds weight of silver, all his elephants, and an infinite number of arms and horses. And then he discovered that he must deliver himself into the hands of Metellus. What more would he risk in continuing the war? He recommenced it. He ought sooner to have remembered that the Romans had employed the same treachery towards the Carthaginians.

Metellus then commenced a war of extermination in Numidia, putting to death all the males who had arrived at maturity.² Thus he treated Vaea, which had escaped from the Roman yoke, and Thala, the repository of the treasures of Jugurtha, who thought it was protected by the solitude with which it was surrounded. The untameable king of Numidia had left his kingdom, the better to defend it. Having retired to the confines of the great desert, he disciplined the Gætulians, and called to assist him against the Romans, his father-in-law, Boechus, the king of Mauritania, who was vanquished, with him, near Cirtha.

Metellus, with grief, saw his lieutenant Marius deprive him of the glory of finishing this war. The haughty patrician, who, it must be allowed, owed to him a great

¹ Sallust, *Jugurth. War*, c. 54.

² *Id. ib.*

part of his successes, wished, at first, to prevent his going to Rome to solicit the consulship. It will be time enough for you, said he, when my son demands it. Twenty years must elapse before his son arrived at the proper age. The insolence of Metellus deeply wounded Marius. He demanded the condemnation to death of one of Metellus' clients, who was suspected of having intelligence with the Numidians; and when Metellus tried to reinstate the memory of this man, Marius said that he congratulated himself on having attached an everlasting fury to the soul of the consul.

This malignant speech may indicate with what hatred Marius attacked Metellus at Rome. This time he condescended to address the people, and to indulge their passions. He accused his general of lengthening the war; he promised that, if he became consul, he would with his own hand seize or kill Jugurtha. He was supported by the knights, by the publicans, and by all those whose commerce with Africa was annihilated by this long war; and by the poor, whom he enlisted for the first time, and for whom the camps became an asylum. Marius was accused of taking for soldiers men who left to their country no pledges of their fidelity. But the extinction of the proprietors obliged him to have recourse to this last resource.

Marius desired two things: to attach the army to his interests, and to have the sole command of it, and to conquer Jugurtha. He attained the last end by severe discipline, and the first by boundless prodigality. He bestowed all the booty, all the spoils, on the soldiers. With such a sympathy between the commander and the army, the war was carried on furiously. Marius took Capsa, situated in the midst of the most barren solitudes. He forced the almost inaccessible peak where the king of Numidia had placed what he could save of his treasures. He twice defeated Jugurtha and Bocchus. The latter would not sacrifice himself with his son-in-law. He promised to deliver him up. The young Sylla, the prætor of Marius, had, in his first campaign, the honour of receiving the important captive from the hands of the king of Mauritania. This success was partly owing to his address and coolness; Bocchus deliberated, for an instant,

whether he should not rather deliver Sylla to Marius. Marius never forgave his quæstor for having caused the removal of the king of Numidia to be represented on his ring.

Numidia was divided between Bocchus and the two natural grandsons of Massinissa. The hero, who had so long defended Numidia, and who, notwithstanding the crimes natural to barbarian kings, deserved a better fate, was drawn behind the chariot of Marius, in the midst of the hooting of a cowardly populace. It is said that he lost his senses. Perhaps he wished to escape ignominy by feigning insensibility. It was thus that the king of the Vandals diminished, for Belisarius, the glory and intoxication of triumph, by declaring, with a smile of disdain, that he would not accept the disgrace with which they tried to cover him. Jugurtha was afterwards stripped, and the lictors, to save time, tore off the ends of his ears with the gold rings which he wore in them. Being then thrown, naked, into a damp dungeon, he still jested while entering: "By Hercules," said he, "the stoves are cold in Rome." He struggled there against hunger for six days.¹

The jealousy with which the nobles were inspired by the victories of the publican of Arpinum, was repressed by a danger from which he alone could defend Rome. Some nations, hitherto unknown to the Romans, the Cimbri and Teutones, from the shores of the Baltic, retreating, it is said, from the overflowings of the ocean, had descended towards the south. They had ravaged the whole of Illyria, defeated, on the confines of Italy, a Roman general who wished to prevent their entering Norieum, and avoided the Alps by crossing Helvetia, whose principal populations, the Umbrians or Ambrones, Tigurini, (Zurich,) and Tughini, (Zug) increased their horde. The whole number, amounting to three hundred thousand warriors, penetrated into Gaul. Their families, the old men, women, and children, followed in chariots. In the north of Gaul, they found some ancient Cimbric tribes, and left with them for safety a great part of their booty. But central Gaul was devastated, reduced to a state of famine, and burnt during

¹ Plut. *Life of Mar.*

their progress through it. The populations of the country took refuge in the towns, to let the torrent pass; and were in such want of food that they endeavoured to subsist on human flesh. The barbarians, having arrived at the banks of the Rhone, learnt that on the other side of that river it was still the Roman empire, whose frontiers they had already encountered in Illyria, Thrace, and Macedonia. The immensity of the great empire of the south inspired them with a superstitious respect. With the simple good faith of the Germanic race, they said to the magistrate of the province, M. Silanus: "That if Rome gave them lands, they would willingly fight for her." Silanus proudly replied: "Rome had no need of their services;" he then crossed the Rhone, and was defeated. The consul P. Cassius, who afterwards came to the defence of the province, was killed; Scaurus, his lieutenant, was taken, and the army passed under the yoke of the Helvetians, not far from the lake of Geneva. The emboldened barbarians wished to cross the Alps. They only hesitated, whether the Romans should be reduced to slavery or exterminated. In their noisy debates, they decided upon interrogating Scaurus, their prisoner, as to the force of his country. His bold reply infuriated them, and one of them pierced him with his sword. Nevertheless, they reflected, and postponed the passage of the Alps. The words of Scaurus were, perhaps, the salvation of Italy. The Gallic Tectosages of Tolosa, united to the Cimbri by a common origin, called them against the Romans, whose yoke they had shaken off. The march of the Cimbri was too slow. The consul, Servilius Cæpio, entered the town, and sacked it. The gold and silver which the Tectosages had in olden times brought from the pillage of Delphi, that from the mines in the Pyrenees, and that which the piety of the Gauls had secured in a temple in the town, or thrown into a neighbouring lake, had made Tolosa the richest town belonging to the Gauls. It is said that Cæpio took from it one hundred and ten thousand pounds weight of gold, and fifteen hundred thousand of silver. He sent this treasure to Marseilles, and caused it to be seized upon the road by some of his followers, who massacred the escort.

This robbery was profitless; all those who had touched the fatal booty ended their days miserably; and it became a proverb, when wishing to describe a man devoted to an implacable fatality: "He has some of the gold of Tolosa."

At first, Cæpio, jealous of a colleague inferior to himself in birth, wished to encamp and to combat separately. He insulted the deputies whom the barbarians sent to the other consul. The barbarians, boiling with anger, solemnly devoted to the gods everything that should fall into their hands. Out of eighty thousand soldiers, and forty thousand slaves or servants in the army, it is said that only ten men escaped. Cæpio was among that number. The barbarians kept their oath most religiously; they killed every living being in the two Roman camps, gathered the arms, and threw them and the gold and silver, and even the horses, into the Rhone.¹

This day, as terrible as that of Cannæ, opened to them the whole of Italy. The fortune of Rome stopped them in Provence, and caused them to turn towards the Pyrenees. Thence, the Cimbri dispersed themselves over the whole of Spain, whilst the remainder of the barbarians awaited them in Gaul. Whilst they were thus losing time, and meeting destruction from the mountainous country and obstinate courage of the Celtiberians, terrified Rome had recalled Marius from Africa. Nothing less than the man of Arpinum, in whom all the Italians saw a friend, would reassure Italy, and arm her unanimously against the barbarians. This severe soldier, almost as terrible to his friends as to the enemy, as fierce as the Cimbri with whom he was going to fight, was a saviour to Rome. During four years, in which they expected the barbarians, neither the people nor even the senate could resolve to name any other consul than Marius. Having arrived in the country, he first hardened his soldiers by prodigious labour. He made them dig the *Fossa Mariana*, which insured his communication with the sea, and enabled the ships to avoid the mouth of the Rhone, which was stopped up with sand. At the

¹ Paul. Oros. v. 16.

same time he overwhelmed the Teutosages, and assured himself of the fidelity of the inhabitants of the country, before the barbarians were again in movement.

At length the barbarians turned their forces towards Italy, the only western country which had still escaped their ravages. But the difficulty of finding provisions for so large a multitude obliged them to separate. The Cimbri and Tigurini went through Helvetia and Noricum; the Ambrones and Teutones were, by a more direct road, to pass the legions of Marius, penetrate into Italy by the maritime Alps, and join the Cimbri on the banks of the Po.

Marius, in his intrenched camp, whence he observed them, at first near Arles, afterwards under the walls of Aquæ Sextiæ (Aix), obstinately refused to give them battle. He wished to accustom his followers to the sight of these barbarians, with their enormous forms, fierce eyes, and strange arms and clothing. Their king, Teutobocus, cleared with a bound four and even six horses abreast when he was led in triumph in Rome, he was higher than the trophies. The barbarians, filing off before the intrenchments, defied the Romans by various insults. "Have you nothing to say to your wives?" said they; "we shall soon be with them." One day, one of these northern giants approached even to the entrance of the camp, to challenge Marius himself. The general replied, "that if he were tired of life, he had only to go and hang himself;" and as the Teuton insisted, he sent a gladiator to him. Thus he arrested the impatience of his followers; he knew, however, what went on in the camp of the enemy, through the young Sertorius, who understood their language, and mixed with them in the Gallie habit.

Marius, to increase the desire of his soldiers for battle, had placed his camp upon a hill, without water, which commanded the view of a river. "You are men," said he to them; "you shall have water for blood." The combat indeed soon commenced on the banks of the river. The Ambrones, who were alone in this first action,

astonished the Romans at the commencement by their war-ery, which they caused to resound like bellowing on their shields, "Ambrones! Ambrones!" However, the Romans conquered, but were repulsed from the camp by the wives of the Ambrones, who armed themselves to defend their liberty and their children, and dealt blows from the top of their chariots, without distinction of friends or enemies. All the night the barbarians mourned their dead with a savage howling, which, being repeated by the echoes of the mountains and the river, struck terror into the soul even of the conquerors. After an interval of a day, Marius brought them with his cavalry to a new action. The Ambro-Teutones, hurried on by their courage, crossed the river, and were crushed in its bed. A body of three thousand Romans came upon them from behind, and decided their defeat. According to the most moderate calculation, the number of barbarians killed or taken was an hundred thousand. The valley, enriched by their blood, became celebrated for its fertility. The inhabitants of the country neither inclosed nor supported their vines with anything but the bones of the dead. The village of Pourrières to this day recalls the name given to the plain, *Campi putridi*, field of putrefaction. As for the booty, the army gave the whole of it to Marius, who, after a solemn sacrifice, burnt it in honour of the gods. A pyramid was erected to Marius, and a temple to Victory. Up to the time of the revolution, the church of Sainte-Victoire, which replaced the temple, was visited annually by a solemn procession, which custom had never interrupted. The pyramid existed till the fifteenth century; and Pourrières took for its arms the triumph of Marius represented upon one of the bas-reliefs, with which this monument was ornamented.¹

The Cimbri, having passed the Norieian Alps, had descended into the valley of the Adige. The soldiers of Catulus saw them, with terror, sporting, almost naked, in the midst of the glaciers, and sliding on their shields from the summit of the Alps, over precipices. Catulus, a methodical general, thought himself secure behind

¹ Am. Thierry, *H. des Gaulois*, ii. 226.

the Adige, covered by a little fort. He thought that the enemy would trifle away their time by forcing it. The barbarians heaped up some rocks, threw a whole forest upon them, and went on. The Romans fled, and did not stop till they reached the Po. The Cimbri did not think of pursuing them. Whilst waiting the arrival of the Teutones, they enjoyed the Italian sun and sky, and were overcome by the luxuries of that beautiful and mild country. The wine, the bread, all was new to these barbarians;¹ they sunk under the southern sun, and under the still more enervating influence of civilization.

Marius had time to join his colleague. He received deputies from the Cimbri, who wished to gain time. "Give us," said they, "land for ourselves and for our brothers, the Teutones." "Leave your brothers alone," said Marius; "they have lands. We have given them some which they will keep for ever." And as the Cimbri menaced them with the arrival of the Teutones: "They are here," said he; "it would not be well for you to depart without saluting them," and he ordered the captives to be brought. The Cimbri, having asked Marius on what day, and in what place, he would fight, to decide who should possess Italy, he appointed to meet them, on the third day, in a field near Vercellæ.

Marius had placed himself so that the enemy must face the wind, the dust, and the rays of a July sun. The infantry of the Cimbri formed an immense square, the foremost ranks of which were united by chains of iron. Their cavalry, a force of fifteen thousand men, was a terrific sight, the helmets being charged with the muzzles of savage animals, and surmounted by the wings of birds.² The camp and the army of the barbarians occupied a league in length. At the commencement, the division in which Marius was stationed, imagining that they had seen the enemy's cavalry flee, set off in pursuit, and wandered about in the dust; whilst the enemy's infantry, like the waves of an immense sea, dashed itself against the centre, where stood Catulus and Sylla, and then all was lost in a cloud of sand. The dust and the sun deserved the principal honour of the victory. (101.)

¹ Florus, *ut sup.*

² Plut. *Life of Marius.*

The barbarian camp, and the wives and children of the vanquished, still remained. At first, having attired themselves in mourning, they begged the conquerors to promise to respect them, and to give them as slaves to the Roman priestesses of fire, or Vestals—(the worship of the elements existed in Germany); then, seeing their petition treated with derision, they themselves provided for their liberty. With these people, marriage was a very serious matter. Symbolical nuptial presents—such as harnessed oxen, arms, and war-horses—sufficiently announced to the virgin that she had become a sharer in the dangers of the man, that they were united in the same destiny for life or death (*sic vivendum, sic pereundum*, Tacit.) It was to his wife that the wounded warrior went after the battle (*ad matres et conjuges vulnera referunt; nec illæ numerare aut exigere plagas pavent*). She counted his wounds, and probed them without turning pale; for death was not to separate them. Thus, in the Scandinavian poems, Brunhilde burnt herself upon the body of Siegfried. At first, the wives of the Cimbri freed their children by putting them to death; they strangled them, or threw them under the wheels of their chariots. Then they hanged themselves, or fastened themselves by a slip-knot to the horns of the oxen, which they pricked, that they might trample them to death. The dogs belonging to the horde defended their corpses; they were obliged to be exterminated by arrows.¹

So disappeared this terrible apparition of the north, which had thrown such terror into Italy. The word *cimbric* remained synonymous with strength and terror; nevertheless, Rome did not feel the heroic genius of these nations, which were one day to destroy her; she believed in her eternity. The prisoners whom they were able to make amongst the Cimbri, were distributed in the towns as public slaves, or devoted to fight as gladiators.

Marius had engraved upon his shield the face of a Gaul putting out his tongue, a device which had been very popular in Rome since the time of Torquatus. The people called him the third founder of Rome, the two first being Romulus and Camillus. Libations were made in

¹ Florus, iii. Plut. *Life of Marius*. Pliny, xxii. 6.

the name of Marius, in honour of Bacchus or Jupiter. He himself, intoxicated by his victory over the barbarians of the north and south, over Germany, and *over the African Indies*, never drank except out of that cup with two handles from which, according to tradition, Bacchus had drunk after his victory over the Indies.¹

The victory of Marius delivered Rome from the danger she most feared, but not from the greatest. It was said that the empire was henceforth closed against the barbarians; and yet, each day, though under the chains of slavery, they invaded the empire. The publicans, who were established on all the frontiers, had organized the sale of the white people. These were not prisoners of war, still less bought slaves; but they were free men, whom the slave merchants, publicans, knights, and others, seized upon in time of peace, and most frequently in the dominions of the allies of Rome. When Marius, upon setting out to fight the Teutones, asked succour from Nicodemus, king of Bithynia, that prince replied, that, thanks to the publicans and slave-merchants, he had no longer any other subjects than children, women, and old men.² An uninterrupted emigration of Thracians, Gauls, and, above all, of Asiatics, then took place into Italy and Sicily. They were brought to those countries as slaves, at the same time that their gods entered them as sovereigns. Before the second Punic war, the senate had caused the temple of Isis at Rome, to be demolished; twenty years after this war, it had proscribed the initiated bacchanals. And, behold! during the war with the Teutones, the senate welcomed with honour the Phrygian Batabaces, who promised victory, and caused a temple to be erected to the Good goddess. Marius took with him everywhere the Syrian Martha, consulted her before every battle, and only sacrificed by her orders. Sylla docilely obeyed the divinations of the Chaldeans.³ The senate was obliged to forbid human sacrifices. (98 B.C.)

At the time the war of the Cimbri broke out, the senate, wishing to secure the Asiatic allies, made a decree restoring to them their subjects who had become slaves.

¹ Plut. *Life of Mar.*

² Diod. *Excerpt.*

³ Plut. *Lives of Marius and Sylla.*

Every free man, a native of an allied country, who had been unjustly detained in slavery, was declared emancipated. Immediately, eight hundred slaves presented themselves to the prætor of Sicily, and were set at liberty; but every day innumerable multitudes of slaves appeared, claiming their freedom on the same grounds. Most of these unfortunate people belonged to Roman knights, who everywhere usurped the lands belonging to the free men, and caused them to be cultivated by slaves. What magistrate in the provinces could dare to decide against the interest of these great landowners, who, in their quality of knights, could judge himself on his return to Rome? This fearful tyranny, at once fiscal, mercantile, and judicial, has been already characterized by some words of Montesquieu.

The slaves, rendered furious at seeing their right to liberty recognised and despised at the same time, armed themselves in all directions. (105-1.) This time they no longer chose for a chief a Syrian buffoon, but a brave Italian, named Salvius,¹ and an intrepid Greek, named Athenion, who disciplined them in the Roman manner, and only gave arms to such as could use them, and avoided shutting themselves up in the towns, where the great number of free men put them in danger. King Salvius and his lieutenant, like Eunus, foretold future events. What, at least, proves their knowledge of the present is, that they turned towards the west, and endeavoured to communicate with the sea and with Italy, where other bands of slaves had taken up arms. As long as the war with the Cimbri lasted, that with the slaves lingered. Three Roman generals perished in it. But the same year in which the battle of Vercellæ was fought, Manius Aquilius, the colleague of Marius in his fifth consulship, went into Sicily, killed with his own hand Athenion, who had succeeded Salvius, and pursued the disbanded slaves from town to town. He reserved a thousand of them to throw to the beasts in the amphitheatre at Rome; but they were unwilling that the people should have the enjoyment of witnessing their agony; they therefore killed each other. (101.) If we may believe Athenæus, a million slaves perished in the two servile wars.

¹ See Diod. *Excerpt.*

CHAPTER III.

Social war—The Italians oblige Rome to grant them the freedom of the city—The social and civil war of Marius and Sylla—Dictatorship of Sylla—Victory of the nobles over the knights, of Rome over the Italians, 100-77.

THE allies, who, in the wars of the Cimbri and the slaves, composed two-thirds of the Roman army, expected rewards. The greater part of them having been despoiled, either formerly by the Roman colonies, or recently by the rapacity of the knights, had, notwithstanding the decrees of the senate, established themselves in the environs of Rome, and introduced themselves into the rustic tribes. Marius, through one of his creatures, Apulieus Saturninus, proposed to distribute amongst them the lands in the north of Italy, which the Cimbri had occupied for a short time.¹ By this means he removed his ancient soldiers, Marsi, Peligni, Lucani, Samnites, &c., from their native provinces and their national patrons, into a distant province, where they had no other guarantee than the protection of Marius. It was also a specious motive to close Italy to the barbarians, by establishing at the foot of the Alps those who had conquered them. The Italians, who supported this law, rendered it odious by their violence. They murdered in the forum, in broad daylight, the competitors of Saturninus, and those of Glaucias, who supported him. Death was decreed against every senator who did not swear to respect the agrarian law, granted to the soldiers by Marius. As for the latter, his conduct in all this was miserably equivocal and factious. He swore that he would not swear to the law; and when his enemy Metellus had initiated him, Marius feigned fear of the Italians, and pronounced the oath. The people of Rome, being jealous of the rustic tribes, had armed themselves to support Metellus, who preferred remaining absent from Rome.

¹ Appian, *Bell. Civ.* p. 625.

The duplicity of Marius had cooled the feelings of the Italians towards him. Saturninus was the object of their enthusiasm, and they had saluted him king. Marius approached the senate and the populace of the city. After the Italians returned to field labour, Saturninus was abandoned, as the Gracchi had been, and was obliged to take refuge in the Capitol, with what few partisans remained firm to him. Dying with thirst, and in danger of being burnt with the temple, they surrendered themselves to Marius, who allowed them to be stoned to death, or, according to other historians, expressly ordered their death. (100.)¹ From that time, Marius saw his popularity decline; odious to the people as an Italian, to the senate as a demagogue, despised as a publican by both, he had lost the confidence of Italy in separating from Saturninus. He soon saw his enemy Metellus re-enter the senate. Rather than endure the daily humiliation of his presence, he set out for Asia, under the pretext of fulfilling his vows to the Good-goddess, but in reality to involve himself in a war by insulting the allied kings;² perhaps, also, to participate in the rapine of his friends, the Roman knights, who plundered Asia. The dangerous patronage of the allies passed, some years after, to the tribune Livius Drusus, who had then undertaken, at all risks, to restore the judicial power of the senate. The senators could not tolerate the tyranny of the knights, whom they called their executioners. On the other hand, the greater part of the allies, whose lands the knights were continually usurping, were not more favourable to them. Drusus proposed to divide the tribunals between the equestrian order and the senate, to double this body by admitting three hundred knights, to give lands to the Roman people, and the right of the city to all Italy. (91.) This project of conciliation did not satisfy any one. The knights addressed themselves to such of the allies as had hitherto suffered little from the colonies and the distributions of land, and excited in them fears that the new regulations would be made at their expense. The Etruscans

¹ Compare Plut. *Life of Mar. and Telleius Pat.* ii. 12.

² Plut. *at sup.*

and Umbrians came to Rome to accuse Drusus. They were supported by the consul Marcius Philip, a personal enemy to Drusus.¹ Abandoned like the Gracchi, as Saturninus, and as all those who relied upon the variable succour of the Italians against the sedentary inhabitants of Rome had been, he perished by assassination in his own house. The consul, the chief of the party of knights, was accused of this crime. The knights mercilessly pursued the partisans of Drusus; they dragged before their tribunals the most illustrious senators, and descending into the square with bands of armed slaves, they passed, sword in hand, a law which ordered the prosecution of any one who, either secretly or publicly, favoured the demand of the Italians to be admitted to the right of the city.²

Of all the allies, those most irritated were the Marsi and their confederates (Marrucini, Vestini, and Peligni). These warlike herdsmen, who, in olden times, had so early abandoned the Samnites, their brothers, had long been content to be known as the best soldiers in the Roman army. The Romans themselves said, "Who could triumph over the Marsi, or without the Marsi?"³ At first, they attempted an attack on Rome. Their brave chief, Pompeius Silo, took with him all those who were prosecuted by the tribunals, probably those who had been ruined by the Roman usurers; they amounted to ten thousand men, who were armed under their robes. The accident of meeting with a senator on their road made them think that they were discovered, and they contented themselves with the kind words which he gave them.⁴ However, the Italian people leagued themselves with them, and exchanged hostages;

¹ "Drusus, one day, on being interrupted, while haranguing an assembly, by Philip, had him seized by the throat and dragged to prison, not by a lictor but by one of his private clients, who used such violence that the blood spirted from Philip's nose. Drusus only laughed at this, saying, 'tis only puddle."—Val. Max. ix. 5.

² *Id.* p. 369.—"This Marsian war, which introduced the Italians into Rome, permanently destroyed the unity of the city, which had so long been maintained by the patricians. Before the old temple of Quirinus, says Pliny, xv. 36, there grew two myrtles, the one patrician, the other plebeian. The first, which had been green and vigorous up to the Marsian war, thereafter languished and withered, while the other flourished and grew strong."

³ Appian, *Bello Civ.* ii. 632.

⁴ Diod. *Eclog.* xxxviii.

for they mistrusted each other, isolated as they had so long been by the policy of Rome. The Marsi thus incorporated with themselves what remained of the ancient Samnite race, dispersed among the mountains of Samnium and in the plains of Lucania, Campania, and Apulia. The important towns of Nola, Venusium, and Asculum (in Picenum), took part with them. What the Italians had wanted in the war with the Samnites was a centre, a superior town, a Rome. This time they built one on purpose. Corfinium, the Italian Rome, was constructed in imitation of the other, which it was to destroy. It had its forum, its curiæ, and its senate of five hundred members. The allies were to appoint, annually, twelve generals and two consuls. The first whom they elected, the Marsian Pompedius Silo, and the Samnite C. Motulus, (Papius Mutilius?) were ordered to fight, one towards the north-west, the other towards the south.¹ The first was to attack Rome in a direct manner, and, if he could, to raise against her Etruria and Umbria. Under these chiefs commanded C. Judacilius, Herius Asinius, M. Lamponius, Insteius Cato, Marius Egnatius, Pontius Telesinus, and many others. Besides P. Rutilius, Q. Cepion, Val. Messala, and the famous Sylla, Rome opposed to them S. Julius Cæsar, Cn. Pompeius Strabo, and Porcius Cato, three men who were destined to be eclipsed by their sons. There were besides, amongst the Roman generals, two of Italian origin, the famous Marius and C. Perpenna. The conduct of the two last was singularly equivocal. Perpenna, being suspected of having allowed himself to be defeated, was deprived of the command. Marius always refused to give battle to the Italians, let slip the most favourable occasions for conquering them, neglected to pursue the advantages which Sylla had gained,² and gave up the command, under pretence of nervousness. Undoubtedly he hoped that Rome, when reduced to her last extremity, would end by taking as a mediator and absolute chief, a man, Italian by birth and Roman by his fortune.

He deceived himself. After many defeats, in which

¹ Diod. *Eclog.* xxxvii.

² App. *Bello Civ.* ii. Plut. *Life of Marius.*

two consuls lost their life, Rome was again triumphant. She owed her success principally to the consul, Cn. Pompeius, and to Sylla, the lieutenant of his colleague. Pompey, having been besieged for a short time in Ferrium, in his turn shut up within the walls of Asculum the Italian Judacilius, who, after having had all the partisans of Rome put to death, prepared himself a funeral pile in a temple, and solemnly devoted himself to death.

Pompey also destroyed all those who passed the Apennines to raise Etruria; but Rome believed it impossible to assure herself of the Etruscans and the Umbrians, except by giving them the right of the city. (88.) The Marsi themselves abandoned the league on the same condition. Sylla, who had been instrumental in forming this treaty, killed fifty thousand Italians in Campania, and took Æqualanum from the Hirpini, by threatening to burn it in its walls of wood. He turned the defiles of Samnium, which were held by the army of the enemy, and forced Bovianum, after having made a frightful carnage amongst the Samnites. The Marsian, Pompeidius Silo, more faithful than his fellow-citizens to the common cause, had transported the seat of the Italian empire from Corfinium to Bovianum and then to Æsernia, two towns belonging to the Samnites. He had emancipated twenty thousand slaves, and solicited the assistance of the king of Pontus, who mistook his true interest, and replied that he desired first of all to reduce Asia.¹ So many reverses, and even the death of Pompeidius, who was killed in Apulia, could not overcome the resistance of the Samnites. Driven from their mountains, they still held out in Nola and in their strong positions in Brutium. Their chief essayed to profit by the quarrels of Marius and Sylla to seize upon Rhegium, and pass thence into Sicily, where they could so easily have armed the slaves.

In granting the right of city to the greater part of the Italians, Rome did not end the war; she introduced it within the walls. The multitude of the new citizens had been crowded into eight tribes, who voted last, when the first tribes had already decided the matter. The Marsi, the

¹ Diod. *ut sup.*

Umbrians, the Etruscans, made a journey of twenty or thirty leagues, to come to Rome to exercise that so much desired right of sovereignty; there was no public place vast enough to contain them; part voted from the top of the temples and the porticoes which surrounded the Forum. And all the people who had come from such a distance gave a useless vote, or perhaps were not even consulted. The Italians, indignant at this deception, necessarily recommenced the struggle, that, spread throughout all the tribes, they might obtain an equality of rights. This apparent equality would have been for them a real superiority over the ancient citizens, whose numerous votes would have been lost in theirs. Undoubtedly the Italians merited superiority over this ignoble populace, composed, for the most part, of freedmen of all nations. However, this equivocal people represented ancient Rome, took the spirit of it, believed itself Roman, and obstinately defended the unity of the city.

The promise of distributing the Italians in all the tribes, and by these means of assuring them the real exercise of their new rights, was the bait which Marius used to attach them to himself, and to regain his ancient popularity amongst them. It was not that he troubled himself about his countrymen. The old publican, who had become fat and heavy,¹ had for a long time scarcely employed himself in any other way than in hoarding up money in the beautiful house at Misenum which he had bought of the mother of the Gracchi, and for which Lucullus afterwards paid 500,000 sesterces. Marius was suddenly seen to re-appear in the Campus Martius, exercising with the young people. His enemies asked him what had become of the nervousness which had paralyzed his movements in the social war; but now one of those productive Eastern wars, capable of satiating the avaricious Roman generals, was in contemplation. Mithridates, the king of Pontus, had favoured the insurrection of the cities of Asia Minor against the dreadful oppressions of the Romans; in one day, one hundred thousand of the latter, knights, publicans, usurers, and slave merchants, had been massacred.

¹ Plut. *Life of Marius*.

Having made himself master of Asia, he had sent a large army into Greece, and occupied with it the eastern provinces and all the islands in the *Ægean Sea*.

The knights, a great number of whom would have been ruined by the success of Mithridates, were anxious to give the command of this war to the publican Marius, who was interested in not reforming the abuses which had caused it. They considered it of such importance to send into Asia a man attached to their cause, that to gain this end they would have consented to favour the pretensions of the Italians, whom they had so long repulsed. The tribune Sulpicius had taken upon himself to carry out these two laws, and caused himself to be supported by an armed band of knights, whom he called the anti-senate. Sylla, who was then consul, desired for himself the conduct of the Asiatic war. Sulpicius and his satellites shut him up in the house of Marius, and made him swear to desist. The son of the other consul was publicly killed.

Less could not be expected from a party who, not long before, had murdered in broad daylight, in the temple of Vesta,¹ a prætor who wished to have the laws against usury put into execution. Sylla took refuge with the army, which was still besieging the Samnites before Nola, drew it towards Rome, caused Sulpicius to be killed, and set a price upon the head of Marius.

This Sylla, who entered Rome with a torch in his hand, threatening to burn the town, proclaimed that he only came to re-establish liberty. The people, taking him at his word, refused their votes to his nephew and one of his friends, and gave the consulship to a partisan of Marius, L. Cinna. The new consul had at first appeased the conqueror by binding himself to him with the most terrible oaths; but when he thought himself sufficiently strong, he wished his trial to be begun. Sylla learned, at the same time, that his colleague in the social war, Cneius Pompey Strabo, an equivocal person, who always fluctuated between parties, had ordered or allowed to be killed, another Pompey, who had succeeded him in the command of the army, and who was favourable

¹ App. *Life of Mar.*

to Sylla. He saw that he should never prevail, if he did not appropriate his legions to himself by lucrative victories in Greece and Asia; he left Pompey, Cinna, his accusers, and his judges, and set out to fight Mithridates (88.)

The king of Pontus, who has been compared to the great Hannibal, had, it is true, the vast projects and the ungovernable will of the chief of the mercenaries, but not his genius for tactics. His glory was the being during forty years for the barbarians on the shores of the Euxine, what Hannibal had been for those of Spain, Africa and Gaul; a sort of mediator and instructor, under whose auspices they invaded the empire. Residing at Pergamus, upon the confines of Asia, whence he had driven the Romans, he was continually sending fresh hordes from the Caucasus, from the Crimea, and from the banks of the Danube, into Asia, Macedonia and Greece.¹ But these scarcely disciplined barbarians could not withstand the legions. Sylla was soon rid of them. Whatever interest he might have had to sound the praise of his victories at Cheronæa and Orchomena, in order to terrify Italy, he himself admitted that in the first he had lost but twelve men.² His principal weapon was corruption. He won over the principal lieutenant of Mithridates, by the gift of an estate in Eubœa. Athens long resisted him. She was defended by the epicurean philosopher, Aristion, who had expelled the Romans. The Athenians, who were accustomed to meet with respect in the wars, on account of the enthusiasm which all the world then professed for the genius of their ancestors, did not fear to dart the most bitter epigrams from the walls at Sylla and his wife Metella. The fierce face of the Roman, his red hair, his green eyes and his red complexion spotted with white, particularly amused the besieged. They cried to him:

“Sylla is a mulberry sprinkled with flour.”

This cost them dear. The barbarians inundated the town with blood. What was spilled in the square alone, entirely filled the Ceramicus, ran out even to the gates, and flowed beyond the town.

¹ Appian, *Bell. Mithr.*

² Plut. *L. of Sylla.*

Sylla, having entered Asia, found there a Roman army attached to Marius, which, after great successes over Mithridates, kept him besieged in Pitan; it was commanded by the lieutenant, Fimbria, who had caused his general to be assassinated. Fimbria having no ships, and wishing to inclose Mithridates in the direction of the sea, wrote to Lucullus, who commanded the vessels of Sylla, and represented to him of what importance it was that the enemy of the Romans should not be allowed to escape.¹ But Sylla feared Fimbria more than Mithridates; he opened the passage to the king, and required him to abandon Bithynia, Cappadocia, and Roman Asia. "What will you leave me, then?" said Mithridates. "I leave you," replied Sylla, "the hand with which you have signed the death of an hundred thousand Romans." By this sentence, Sylla avowed his treachery; for it was in his power to take this terrible enemy to Rome, and spare his country thirty years of war.

Poor Asia, pillaged by the publicans of Rome, pillaged by Mithridates, was again plundered by the soldiers of Sylla. Everything was abandoned to them: the fortune of the heads of the family, the honour of the children, the treasures of the temples. In Greece, Sylla had despoiled those of Delphi, Olympia, and Epidaurus. He paid the civil war beforehand. The rough Italian peasants then became acquainted with baths, theatres, sumptuous apparel, beautiful slaves, and all the luxuries of Asia. They were lodged in the houses of the inhabitants, and lived there, with their friends, at discretion; more than this, each man received from his host four tetradrachms daily. Sylla, at his departure, called upon Asia for a contribution of twenty thousand talents.² Such were the soldiers whom Sylla led against his country. They were so firmly convinced that they were being led to the pillage of Italy, that they all offered money to their general, desiring nothing better than to carry on, at their own expense, so lucrative a war.

Cinna, for a moment driven from Rome, had everywhere restored the Italian party; and, notwithstanding the wise

¹ Plut. *Life of Sylla*.

² *Id. ib.*

advice of his lieutenant Sertorius,¹ had recalled Marius, whose presence could only sully the triumph of Italy over Rome. Let us retrograde a little to consider the romantic destinies of this old party chief. Marius had escaped only by a miracle from the knights belonging to Sylla. Having been surprised in the marshes of Minturnæ, he was conducted to that town; but the inhabitants did not care to deliver up him who had so often spared the Italians in the social war. They gave out that they had sent a Cimbrian slave to kill him; but that the man could not support the gaze of the conqueror of the Cimbri, and that he had fled, saying that he should never have the courage to kill Caius Marius. It is certain that the Minturnians sent him into Africa, whence Cinna had, soon afterwards, the imprudence to recal him.² This ferocious man, having re-entered Rome with a band of emancipated herdsmen, and free labourers from Etruria, (*Βαρδιαῖοι? Μαρῖανοι, Mariani?*) caused them to murder the most illustrious partisans of Sylla, the orator Marcus Antoninus, Catulus Lutatius, his former colleague in the wars with the Cimbri, and a number of others. The excesses committed by the slaves whom Marius had freed were such, that Cinna and Sertorius had a horror of them, and inclosing them one night, cut them in pieces.³ A short time after this, Marius, then seventy years of age, and consul for the seventh time, died from the excesses of wine into which he had plunged to banish from his mind the approach of his enemy.

Sylla was then expected in Italy as an exterminating god. His victories over Mithridates were published, and the terrible words which he had uttered, the furious cupidity of his soldiers, and the threats of the exiles whom he retained in his camp, and whom he called his senate. When his return was first talked of (83), the consuls (Norbanus and Scipio, to whom succeeded Carbo and the young Marius,) had more than an hundred thousand men. Sylla had forty thousand veterans, with six thousand horse, and some soldiers from the Peloponesus and

¹ Plut. *Life of Sertorius*.

² App. Plut. *Life of Pomp.*

³ Id. *ib.*

Macedonia. Metellus and young Pompey, son of Cneius Pompeius Strabo, joined him. Repulsed by the Italian party, who knew the inconstancy of his family,¹ this young man, of three and twenty, had raised legions in Picenum, and beaten three generals, three armies, for the purpose of joining Sylla. The latter appreciated at first sight the vain and mediocre genius of this fortunate soldier. He arose at his approach, and saluted him by the title of GREAT. By this means he made of him a docile tool. He sent him into Italian Gaul, into Sicily, and into Africa, where he obtained great successes over the opposite party.

This party had only raw recruits, and, moreover, it was divided. The Samnites were not united to the other Italians, commanded by the consuls, until the end of the war. In the first battle, which took place at Canusium, Sylla lost seventy men, Norbanus six thousand. In another, which was not given up so soon, he killed twenty thousand of the enemy, without losing more than twenty-three of his own men.² In Campania, an entire army, ably disciplined, joined his forces. Defection also took place in the armies of Carbo and young Marius. The latter having been defeated at Sacriportus, very near Rome, by the treachery of two cohorts, was blocked up in Præneste, and this town became the aim and the prize of the combat offered to all the armies of Italy. Sylla, everywhere present, everywhere victorious, at Saturnia, at Neapolis, at Clusium, and at Spoletum, prevented the Italians from liberating Marius. Pompey defeated eight legions who were marching to his assistance. Three independent Italian chiefs, the Lucanian Lamponius, the Campanian Gutta, and the Samnite Pontius Telesinus, were stopped in the same manner by Sylla. New defections broke out. The Lucanians surrendered. Rimini and the whole of Gaul laid down arms. Albinovanus made his peace by the massacre of his colleagues. Norbanus fled to Rhodes, and killed himself. In Sicily, Barbo gave himself up to Pompey, who coolly ordered him to be murdered. At length the Samnites, by a desperate effort, threw themselves between Pompey and Sylla, to relieve Præ-

¹ App. Plut. *Life of Pomp.*

² Plut. *Life of Sylla.*

neste; they then turned abruptly towards Rome, determined to reduce it to ashes before they perished. Their chief, Pontius Telesinus, ran from rank to rank, crying that *at last the haunt of these ravishing wolves of Italy must be annihilated*.¹ Rome would have been lost if the army of Sylla had not arrived at that moment, and commenced a last and furious battle with the Samnites. The victory remained so long undecided, that Sylla, in a fit of despair, made a vow to the god of Delphi, whose temple he had so outrageously pillaged.²

All the Italians who were in Præneste were collected together and put to the sword. Those of Norba defended themselves to the last, and finished by killing each other. Six thousand Samnites, to whom Sylla had promised their life, were massacred in Rome itself. Their cries reached the temple of Bellona, where Sylla was haranguing the senate. "'Tis nothing," said he; "I have ordered some ringleaders to be chastised." The massacre afterwards extended to the citizens. The senate, which had so ardently desired the return of Sylla, repented the having taken so unmerciful an avenger. One of the Metelli was bold enough to ask him what would be the term of his executions? He replied: "I do not yet know whom I shall let live." "At least let those whom you intend to put to death know their fate," added Metellus. It was then that he published the tables of proscription. (81.)

The victory of Sylla was the triumph of Rome over Italy; in Rome itself, that of the nobles over the rich, particularly over the knights; as for the common people, we have seen that they only existed in name. Two thousand six hundred knights were proscribed, with eighty senators belonging to their party.³ Their wealth, which had been amassed by usury, by the ruin of free men, by the sweat and the blood of many generations of slaves, became the property of the soldiers, the generals, and the senators. Sylla announced himself as the avenger of the laws, the restorer of the ancient republic. The elec-

¹ Velleius Pat. c. 27.

² Plut. *Life of Sylla*.

³ Appian.

tion of the pontiffs and the judicial power, otherwise the religious authority, and the application of the laws, were confided to the senate; the comitia of the tribes were abolished; the tribuneship existed only in name; every tribune was declared incapable of any other office.

The consulship could only be solicited after the prætorship, and the prætorship after the quæstorship. Sylla revived in his own favour the title of dictator, which had been forgotten for an hundred and twenty years. But a consul was necessary in naming a dictator, and both the consuls had been killed. Sylla was so scrupulous as to quit Rome. According to the ancient form, he caused the senate to choose an *interrex*, who might appoint a dictator, and he then wrote to the senate to offer his services to the republic. The senate took care not to refuse; he was named dictator, but for an indefinite time. He obtained oblivion of the past, licence for the future, the right of life and death, and that of confiscating property, dividing lands, building or destroying towns, and giving and taking away kingdoms. This ostentation of legality, this systematic barbarity, was the most insolent and the most odious feature in the victory of Sylla. Marius had pursued his hatred with fury, and had brutally killed those whom he hated; the massacres of Sylla were regular and methodical. Every morning a new table of proscription determined the murders for the day. Seated in his tribunal, he received the bleeding heads, and paid for them the price stated in the tariff; the heads of some of the proscribed were worth two talents. But it was not only the partisans of Marius who perished; the rich also were guilty; one perished on account of his palace, another because of his gardens. A citizen, a stranger to all parties, cast a passing glance at the fatal table, and saw his own name inscribed first: "Ah! unfortunate that I am," cried he, "it is my house at Alba that has killed me." He was murdered a few steps from the place.

The dictator applied his terrible system to the whole of Italy. In every place the men belonging to the opposite party were put to death, banished, or plundered; and not only themselves, but their parents, their friends, those

who knew them, those who had spoken to them, and even those who had accidentally travelled with them.¹ Whole cities were proscribed, as well as men, and were plundered and depopulated, to give place to the legions of Sylla. Above all, the unfortunate Etruria, the only country which had still escaped the colonies and the agrarian laws, the only country in which the labourers were generally free, became the prey of the soldiers of the conqueror. Sylla founded a new town in the valley of the Arno, not far from Fiesole, and from the mystic name of Rome, *Flora*—that name known by the patricians alone—he called it *Florentia*.²

On his return from Etruria, Sylla was thought to be a little softened; but the people were soon taught to dread him more than ever, by the death of Lucretius Ofella, the companion of his victory, and to whom he owed the taking of Præneste. He had not been prætor, and he solicited the consulship; Sylla commanded him to retire, and as he still persisted, ordered him to be put to death upon the spot. He afterwards said: “Know that I have caused H. Lucretius Ofella to be killed, because he resisted my authority;” and he added this horrible apologue: “A labourer ploughing, was bitten by lice; he stopped twice to cleanse his shirt from them, but being bitten a third time, he now determined no longer to be interrupted in his work, and threw his shirt into the fire. And I warn the conquered not to drive me to employ, in like manner, steel as well as fire against them, for the third time.”

Sylla³ seemed to have sufficiently proved his prodigious contempt for humanity. He gave a new proof of it, which no one expected—he abdicated. He was seen walking insolently in the square, without arms, and almost alone. He well knew that a number of men were interested in defending his life; he had placed three hundred of his followers in the senate; in Rome, ten thousand slaves, belonging to

¹ Appian, 687.

² This is the Italian tradition. The mystic name of Rome was *Eros*, or *Amor*; the sacerdotal name, *Flora*, or *Arethusa*; the civil name, *Roma*. Pliny, iii. 5; Mantur, *De occulto urbis Romæ nomine*, No. 1 of his *Antiquarian Memoirs*.

³ App. *ut sup.*

proscribed men, who had been freed by Sylla, bore the name of their liberator (Cornelius) and watched over him. In Italy, an hundred and twenty thousand soldiers, who had become proprietors by his victory, looked upon him as the pledge and guarantee of their fortune. His abdication was merely nominal; in his retreat at Cumæ, even on the eve of his death, having heard that the quæstor Granius delayed paying a sum to the treasury, hoping that the approaching event would dispense with his regulating the accounts, Sylla caused him to be strangled by his bedside.¹

He died all-powerful, and his funeral was a second triumph. Borne through Italy to Rome, his body was escorted by his old soldiers, who came from all parts to increase the train, and placed themselves in ranks. Before the body marched eighty lictors, carrying fasces; behind, were borne two thousand crowns of gold, sent by the towns, the legions, and a number of men belonging to his party. The coffin was surrounded by the priests, to protect it in case of battle; for they were not without inquietude. Then followed the senate, the knights, and the army, legion by legion. Then an infinite number of trumpets, which pierced the air with noisy and harsh sounds. The senate sent forth solemn acclamations, which the army repeated, and the people re-echoed.² Nothing was wanting in the honours which were paid him. He was praised in harangues delivered from the rostrum, and then was buried in the Campus Martius, where no one had been buried since the kings.

This hero, this god, who was carried to the tomb with so much pomp, had been for a long time in a state of rottenness. Devoured by filthy diseases, consumed by indestructible vermin, the son of Venus and Fortune, as he wished to be called,³ had given way, even till his death,

¹ App. *ut sup.*

² Plut. *Life of Sylla.*

³ See various anecdotes of a curious kind in Plut. *Life of Sylla.* This cruel and flagitious man appears to have been a singular favourite with the Roman ladies. At his funeral they attended with such a quantity of aromatics, that besides those which were contained in 210 baskets, there was enough cinnamon and other precious spices to form a statue of Sylla of the size of life, and another of a lictor bearing the fasces before him.

to the foul passions of his youth. The favourites, the buffoons, the abandoned women, with whom he passed his days and nights, had shared a great part of the spoils of the proscribed. In this pompous restoration of the republic, of which he had boasted so much, the buffoons and mountebanks had gained scarcely less than the assassins. He had exterminated the Italian race, under the pretext of assuring the unity of Rome, menaced by the invasion of the allies; and he had surrounded himself with Barbarians, Chaldeans, Syrians, and Phrygians. He consulted them, he adored their gods.

His political work, like his body, fell into decay before-hand. He had expected to restore ancient Rome, by giving the legislative power to the comitia of the centuries in which the rich predominated. But even though his system had lasted, the moveable element of wealth would have removed the power from the hands of his party. He then went to the curiæ, to the ancient sacerdotal aristocracy, to seek permanent influence. He thought to give the power to the patricians; but the patricians were no longer patricians, they were mostly ennobled plebeians; in the same manner, the people were no longer a people, but a collection of freedmen of various nations. All lied, or rather deceived themselves. And this was the vain, hollow idol, for which Sylla had shed so much blood; blinded in his aristocratic prejudices by the classical enthusiasm of the past, which had made demagogues of the Gracchi.

CHAPTER IV.

Pompey and Cicero—Re-establishment of the dominion of the knights—
Sertorius Spartacus, the pirates, Mithridates, 77-64.

THE empire was now in a worse state than before it had passed through the hands of this merciless physician. A short time after the death of Sylla, the Italian party was

restored, under Lepidus and Brutus. Cisalpine Gaul and Etruria, whose ruin had paid the expenses of the civil war, revolted, but were easily reduced; the veterans of Sylla were everywhere in arms to maintain their usurpation against the former landowners. The Italian party was more successful in Spain, where Sertorius had the address to mix his cause with that of the national independence. In Asia, the knights and publicans exercised the same exactions after the departure of Lucullus, who had restrained them; usury, violence, outrage, the seizing of free men as slaves, all the same abuses had recommenced; they would soon bring about the same insurrection, and give up Asia to Mithridates. In the other provinces, the senators, again become masters of the judicial power, and sure of impunity, committed robberies which would scarcely be believed, if the prosecution of Verres had not proved them judicially. Finally, in all the Roman world, devouring slavery made free populations disappear, to substitute for them barbarians, who themselves disappeared, but who would, under Spartacus, at least, be tempted to avenge their death. All the enemies of the empire, Sertorius, Mithridates, and Spartacus, the proscribed Romans, dispossessed Italians, insurgent provincials, men reduced to slavery, could all communicate by the medium of the fugitives, who were spread on all the seas, and who infested them with their piracies. Liberty had formed against, the tyranny of the Roman empire, another empire on the water, a wandering Carthage, which no one knew where to seize, and which floated from Spain to Asia.

This was the succession left by Sylla. Let us see what men had undertaken to gather it together again. The principal senators, Catulus, Crassus, and even Lucullus, were administrators rather than generals, notwithstanding the military glory which the last had so easily acquired in the east. The mediocrity of Metellus was made evident in Spain, where, with considerable forces, he was constantly the sport of Sertorius. Sylla's party had only one successful general; and he was not a noble, but a knight. Pompey was required to terminate the war with Lepidus, that with Sertorius, and that with

Spartacus; and when the pirates had nearly taken possession of Ostia, the cry was still, Pompey. All the forces of the republic were put under his command to give chase to the corsairs, and put old Mithridates to death.

The most difficult of all these wars was that with Sertorius. This old captain in the army of Marius had early foreseen the victory of Sylla, and had gone into Spain. The barbarians esteemed him singularly, on account of his having conquered them by an ingenious stratagem. He had become one of them, and shared their manner of living and their belief. It was he who had discovered, in Africa, the body of the Lybian Antæus; he was the only man who had seen the bones of the giant sixty cubits in length.¹ He corresponded with the gods by means of a white fawn, which revealed hidden things to him. But what attached the barbarians still more strongly was, the mixture of audacity and cunning in his genius, and the address with which he trifled with the enemy, even crossing the lines of Metellus in disguise. He was an indefatigable hunter. No Spaniard knew better the passes and defiles of the mountains. He and his followers were armed superbly, and braved the enemy; he challenged Metellus to single combat.²

This general could not prevent his extending his dominion over the whole of Spain, 84-73. An Italian army, conducted by Perpenna, united itself to his. He created a senate of the proscribed, who took refuge in his camp. Little by little he disciplined the Spaniards, and began to civilize them by bringing up their children in the Roman manner. Meantime, he made himself master of Narbonnese Gaul, and Italy began to fear another Hannibal. Pompey, who came to second Metellus, obliged Sertorius to re-enter Spain, but he was there beaten by him, and had the humiliation of seeing him burn one of the allied towns before his eyes.

Sertorius, who then received grand offers from Mithridates, had the magnanimous obstinacy not to cede to him one inch of land in Asia. Although the founder

¹ Plut. *Life of Sertorius*.

² *Id. ib.*

of a new Rome, which he opposed to the other, he would not injure the integrity of an empire which he considered as his own. He remained a Roman, in the midst of the barbarians, and this was what lost him. Although he openly professed his preference for the Spanish troops, he gave all the commands to the Romans. The latter inspired him with their mistrust of the people of the country, and ended by inciting him to massacre or sell the hostages who were in his possession. This senseless and barbarous act would, sooner or later, have proved his ruin, if he had not been treacherously killed by his lieutenant, Perpenna. Pompey, to whom the latter gave himself up, had him put to death without hearing him, and burnt all his papers, *for fear of finding any of the great men of Rome compromised*. He himself was, perhaps, interested in the disappearance of all traces of the intrigues which had relieved him of so invincible an enemy. (73.)

The war with Asia continued ten years after that of Spain. The ravages of Mithridates, and of Tigranes, his son-in-law, the king of Armenia, united with the horrible cupidity of the publicans and knights to dispeople this unfortunate country. Tigranes removed from Cappadocia, at one time, three hundred thousand men, whom he transferred to his new capital of Tigranocerta.¹ Roman Asia was not less miserable, having been exhausted by the skill of the Roman usurers, who had advanced the twenty thousand talents to Sylla. Such was their industry, that in a few years this contribution was found to be raised to an hundred and twenty talents, (more than £2,400,000.) The unfortunate payers sold their wives, sold their virgin daughters, and their little children, and ended by being themselves sold.²

Mithridates, encouraged by these circumstances, had invaded Cappadocia and Bithynia, and taken a number of cities dependent upon the Romans. He caused himself to be preceded wherever he went by one Marius, whom Sertorius had sent to him with the title of proconsul. Pompey being still occupied in Spain, Lucullus, one of

¹ App. i. c. 216.

² Plut. *Life of Lucullus*.

the chiefs of the party of Sylla, obtained by means of intrigue,¹ the lucrative commission of the Asiatic war. Lucullus had the reputation of being an honest administrator, and a very literate man. He was the protector of all the Greeks at Rome; he had himself, as a sort of pastime, written in Greek an account of the Italian war. What war could better deserve to be written in the Latin tongue? But this contempt for the rude idiom of his country was undoubtedly a mode of paying court to the exterminator of the Italian race. Sylla, when he returned to fight the party of Marius, had left Lucullus in Asia to raise contributions for the war, and, without doubt, to make the publicans belonging to the party of Marius restore some of the wealth they had unlawfully acquired. It was to Lucullus that he dedicated his Commentaries, also written in Greek, and to whom, at his death, he confided the guardianship of his son. Lucullus had never been commander-in-chief until the second war with Mithridates. (76.) But in his passage from Rome to Asia, he studied Polybius, Xenophon, and other Greek works upon the military art. Nevertheless, he did not hasten to measure himself with the king of the Barbarians, who had then assembled about three hundred thousand men. He had learned, by the disaster of his colleague, that it would be better to wait till this torrent should glide away of its own accord. This multitude, formed of ten different nations, could not long remain united; the single difficulty of feeding it must soon produce its dispersion. Whilst Mithridates was wasting away strength before the impregnable Cyzicus, Lucullus watched him, intercepted his provisions, and deprived him of his resources, by winning back, one by one, the cities which had given themselves to him. He reformed the abuses which had excited the country against Rome.² These reforms were the real tactics employed against Mithridates. Every regulation took from him some towns, and deprived him of a part of the subsidies which maintained his army. He could not hold out against this administrative war. At the end of two years, not knowing how to support so many people, he raised the siege of Cyzicus, threw himself into

¹ Plut. *Life of Lucullus*.

² *Id. ib.*

a ship, and told his generals to save the army as they could. A retreat was impossible, with troops so little disciplined. Lucullus had only the trouble of killing. The twenty thousand whom he cut in pieces on the Granicus were but a small portion of those, who perished in this immense rout.

Whilst Lucullus advanced slowly towards Pontus, Mithridates, evading the pursuit of his enemies, who thought to take him in Nicomedia, had already formed and armed new bands of barbarians, whom he had sent for from the Scythians. Some partial defeats, and the terror which followed them, again sufficed to dissipate this new army; Mithridates would have been taken, if he had not had the presence of mind to stop the Roman soldiers by piercing the sacks filled with gold which his mules carried behind him. The barbarian king, obliged to abandon his kingdom, desired, with his oriental jealousy, at least to preserve his seraglio from the outrages of the soldiers. He sent to his wives, by an eunuch, the order to die. Amongst them were two of his sisters, of about forty years of age, whom he had not named, and the Ionian Monima whom he had taken from Miletus, but whose virtue he had conquered only by giving her the sorrowful honour of being called his wife, and of wearing the diadem; she tried to strangle herself with the royal fillet, but it broke, and did not render her even this cruel service.

Mithridates fled into Armenia, to the abode of his son-in-law, Tigranes. This prince, who had extended his dominions into Syria, found himself, in consequence of the ruin of the Seleucidæ and the removal of the Parthians, the most powerful sovereign of western Asia. A crowd of sovereigns waited on him at table, and when he went out, four of them ran before his chariot, in a simple tunic. The insolent domination of this king of kings was not solid. Lucullus knew this so well, that he only took fifteen thousand men to invade the dominions of Tigranes. These were sufficient to put to flight, at the first shock, two hundred thousand barbarians, of whom seventeen thousand were knights encased in iron. The Romans lost five men.¹ The taking of Tigranocerta was facilitated by

¹ Plut. *Life of Lucullus*.

the Greeks, whom Tigranes had transported thither by force, with a crowd of men of all nations. Lucullus sent these Greeks back to their country, paying the expenses of the voyage, as he had done after the burning of the town of Amisus in Pontus. Amisus and Sinope had become two independent towns. All the people whom Tigranes had oppressed, the Sophenians, the Gordyenians, and many Arab tribes, received Lucullus as a liberator.

Becoming conqueror in a second battle, he wished to consummate the ruin of Tigranes, and afterwards to carry his arms to Parthia. He had not this perilous glory. Hitherto, his principal means of success had been to conciliate the people, by restraining the avidity both of his soldiers and of the Italian publicans. The first refused to pursue a war which only enriched the general; the second wrote to Rome, where the party of knights was every day regaining its ancient ascendancy. They accused of rapacity him who had repressed theirs. All were inclined to believe, in short, that Lucullus had drawn enormous sums from the towns which he preserved from the soldiers and publicans.¹

They obtained the appointment of a successor, and by this change, the fruit of this conquest was in a great measure lost. Even before Lucullus had quitted Asia, Mithridates re-entered Pontus, invaded Cappadocia, and leagued himself more closely with the pirates, at the same time that he re-opened to the barbarians their Caucasian route, which had been for a short time closed by the Romans.

Whilst Pompey fought with Sertorius, and Lucullus with Mithridates, Rome had been left with generals unable to defend her from a still more pressing danger. A servile war had broken out (73-1), no longer in Sicily, but in Italy, at the gates of Rome, in Campania. And this time it was no longer mere slaves, labourers, or shepherds, but men exercised expressly in the use of arms, habituated to blood, and devoted beforehand to death. The barbarous mania for combats of gladiators had

¹ This seems probable from the treasures he brought back with him. Cicero says (*pro Flacco*, 34) that Lucullus derived a large portion of his fortune from the legacies bequeathed to him by many persons in Asia.

become such, that a number of rich men kept some of them in their houses; some to please the people and so attain office, others on speculation, to sell or let these gladiators to the ediles, sometimes to the factions, who let them loose like furious dogs in the public square, against their enemies and their rivals.

“One Lentulus Batiatus kept at Capua a number of gladiators, the greatest part of which were Gauls and Thracians; men not reduced to that employment for any crimes they had committed, but forced upon it by the injustice of their master. Two hundred of them, therefore, agreed to make their escape. Though the plot was discovered, three score and eighteen of them, by their extreme vigilance, were beforehand with their master, and sallied out of town, having first seized all the long knives and spits in a cook’s shop. On the road they met some waggons carrying a quantity of gladiators’ arms to another place; these they seized, and armed themselves with them. Then they retired to a place of strength, and made choice of three leaders.¹ The first was Spartacus, whose extraction was from one of those Thracian *hordes* called Nomades. This man had not only a dignity of mind, a strength of body, but a discernment and civility superior to his fortune. In short, he was more of a Greek than a barbarian in his manner.

“It is said, that when he was first brought to Rome to be sold, a serpent was seen twisted about his face as he slept. His wife, who was of the same tribe, having the gift of divination, and being a retainer besides to the orgies of Bacchus, said it was a sign that he would rise to something very great and formidable, the result of which would be happy.² This woman still lived with him, and was the companion of his flight.

“The fugitives first distinguished themselves by defeating a party sent against them from Capua, whose arms they seized and wore with great satisfaction, throwing away

¹ Spartacus, Chrysus, and Cœnomaus. This war began in the year of Rome, 680; before Christ, 71.

² His end was happy for a gladiator. He died fighting gallantly at the head of his troops.

those of gladiators, as dishonourable and barbarous. Clodius the prætor¹ was then sent against them from Rome with a body of three thousand men; and he besieged them on the hill where they were posted. There was but one ascent, which was very narrow and rugged, and there he placed a sufficient guard; the rest was all a craggy precipice, but covered with wild vines. The fugitives cut off such of the branches as might be of most service, and formed them into a ladder of sufficient strength, and so long as to reach the plain beneath. By the help of this ladder they all got down safe, except one. This man remained above only to let down their arms, and when he had done that, he descended after them.

“The Romans knowing nothing of this manœuvre, the gladiators came upon their rear, and attacked them so suddenly, that they fled in great consternation, and left their camp to the enemy. Spartacus was there joined by the herdsmen and shepherds of the country, men of great vigour and remarkably swift of foot. Some of these he clad in heavy armour, and the rest served as reconnoitring parties, and for other purposes of the light-armed.

“The next general sent against these gladiators was Publius Varinus.² They first routed his lieutenant, Furius, who engaged them with a detachment of two thousand men. After this, Spartacus watched the motions of Cossinius, who was appointed assistant and chief counsellor to Varinus, and was now marching against him with a considerable force. His vigilance was such, that he was very near taking Cossinius in the bath at Salenæ; and though he did escape with much difficulty, Spartacus seized his baggage. Then he pursued his steps, and took his camp, having first killed great numbers of the Romans. Cossinius himself was among the slain. His subsequent operations were equally decisive. He beat Varinus in several engagements, and took his *lictors* and the very horse he rode.

“By this time he was become great and formidable. Nevertheless, his views were moderate: he had too much

¹ Clodius Glaber.

² In the different editions of Livy Ephton, it is read Varenus, Varinius, &c.

understanding to hope the conquest of the Romans; and therefore led his army to the Alps, with an intention to cross them, and then dismiss his troops, that they might retire to their respective countries, some to Thrace, and some to Gaul. But they, relying upon their numbers, and elated with success, would not listen to his proposal. Instead of that, they laid Italy waste as they traversed it.

“It was no longer the indignity and disgrace of this revolt that afflicted the senate; it was fear and danger; and they now employed both the consuls in this war, as one of the most difficult and important they had ever had upon their hands. Gellius, one of the consuls, having surprised a body of Germans, who were so rash and self-opinionated as to separate from the troops of Spartacus, defeated them entirely, and put them to the sword. Lentulus, the other consul, endeavoured to surround Spartacus with his forces, which were very considerable. Spartacus met him fairly in the field, beat his lieutenants, and stripped them of their baggage. He then continued his route towards the Alps, but was opposed by Cassius, who commanded in that part of Gaul which lay about the Po, and came against him at the head of ten thousand men. A battle ensued, in which Cassius was defeated with great loss, and saved himself not without difficulty.

“No sooner were the senate informed of these miserable proceedings, than they expressed the greatest indignation against the consuls, and gave orders that they should be superseded in the command. Crassus was the person they pitched upon as a successor, and many of the nobility served under him as volunteers, as well on account of his political influence, as from his personal regard. He went and posted himself on the Picene, in order to intercept Spartacus, who was to march that way. At the same time he sent his lieutenant Mummius round with two legions, giving him strict orders only to follow the enemy, and by no means to hazard either battle or skirmish. Mummius, however, upon the first promising occasion, engaged Spartacus, and was entirely routed. Numbers fell upon the field of battle, and many others threw away their arms, and fled for their lives.

“Crassus gave Mummius a severe reprimand, and new

armed his men, but insisted withal that they should find security for their keeping those arms they were now entrusted with. The first five hundred, who had shown the greatest marks of cowardice, he divided into fifty parts, and put one in each decade to death, to whose lot it might happen to fall; thus reviving an ancient custom of military punishment which had long been disused. Indeed, this kind of punishment is the greatest mark of infamy; and being put in execution in sight of the whole army, is attended with many awful and affecting circumstances.

“After thus chastising his men, he led them against the enemy. But Spartacus turned back and retired through Lucania to the sea. The rebel, happening to find a number of vessels in harbour belonging to the Cilician pirates, resolved to make an attempt upon Sicily, where, at the head of two thousand men, he thought he could easily rekindle the Servile war, which had but lately been smothered,¹ and which wanted little fuel to make it flame out again. Accordingly, the pirates entered into agreement with him; but they had no sooner taken his money, than they broke their engagement, and sailed another way. Spartacus, thus deceived, left the sea, and intrenched himself in the peninsula of Rhegium.

“When Crassus came up, he observed that the nature of the place suggested what measures he should take; in consequence of which he determined to build a wall across the isthmus. This, he knew, would at once keep his soldiers from idleness, and cut off the enemy’s supplies. The work was great and difficult; nevertheless, he finished it, beyond all expectation, in a short time; drawing a trench from sea to sea three hundred furlongs in length, fifteen feet in breadth, and as many in depth; he built a wall also above it, of considerable height and strength.

“Spartacus at first made a jest of the undertaking; but when his plunder began to fail, and he wanted to go farther, he saw the wall before him, and at the same time was conscious that the peninsula was exhausted. He watched his opportunity, however, in a snowy and tempestuous night, to fill up the trench with earth, wood, and

¹ It was but nineteen years before that a period was put to the Servile war in Sicily.

other materials, and so passed it with a third part of his army. Crassus now began to fear that Spartacus, in the spirit of enterprise, would march immediately to Rome. But when he observed that a number of the enemy, upon some difference or other, separated and encamped upon the Lucanian lake, he recovered his spirits. The water of this lake is said to change in such a manner as sometimes to be sweet and fresh, and at other times so salt that it is impossible to drink it. Crassus fell upon this party, and drove them from the lake, but could not do any great execution, or continue the pursuit far, because Spartacus made his appearance, and rallied his fugitives.

“Crassus now repented of having written to the senate, *that it was necessary to recal Lucullus from Thrace, and Pompey from Spain*, and hastened to finish the war himself; for he was sensible that the general who should come to his assistance would rob him of all the honour. He resolved, therefore, in the first place, to attack the troops which had revolted, and formed a separate body, under the command of two officers named Cannicius and Castus. With this view, he sent a corps of six thousand men before to seize an eminence which he thought would be of service to him, but ordered them to conduct their enterprise with all imaginary secrecy. They observed his directions; and, to conceal their march the better, covered their helmets and the rest of their arms. Two women, however, who were sacrificing before the enemy’s camp, discovered them; and they would probably have met their fate, had not Crassus advanced immediately, and given the enemy battle. This was the most obstinate action in the whole war. Twelve thousand three hundred of the enemy were killed, of which number there were only two found wounded on the back; the rest died in their ranks, after the bravest exertions of valour.

“Spartacus, after this defeat, retired towards the mountains of Petelia; and Quintus, one of Crassus’s officers, and Scrophla the quæstor, marched after to harass his rear; but Spartacus facing about, the Romans fled in the most dastardly manner, and with great difficulty carried off the quæstor, who was wounded. This success was the ruin of Spartacus. It gave the fugitives such spirits, that they

would no longer decline a decisive action, or be obedient to their officers; but as they were upon the road, addressed them with their swords in their hands, and insisted on marching back through Lucania with the utmost expedition to meet the Romans, and face Crassus in the field.

“This was the very thing that Crassus desired. He was informed that Pompey was approaching, and of the many speeches to the people on occasion of the ensuing election, in which it was asserted that this laurel belonged to him, and that, as soon as he made his appearance, he would, by some decisive stroke, put an end to the war.

“Crassus therefore hastened to give that stroke himself, and, with the same view, encamped very near the enemy. One day, when he had ordered his soldiers to dig a trench, the gladiators attacked them as they were at work. Numbers came up continually on both sides to support the combatants; and at last Spartacus, seeing what the case necessarily required, drew out his whole army. When they brought him his horse, he drew his sword and killed him, saying, at the same time, ‘If I prove victorious, I shall have horses at command; if I am defeated, I shall have no need of this.’ His aim was to find Crassus, and he made his way through showers of darts and heaps of the slain. He did not, indeed, reach him, but he killed with his own hand two centurions who ventured to engage him. At last, those that seconded him fled; he, however, still stood his ground, and, though surrounded by numbers, fought with great gallantry till he was cut in pieces.”¹

Crassus could not prevent his rival's gaining also the glory of this war. Pompey encountered the remainder of the army of slaves, exterminated them, and re-entered Rome, with the reputation of being the only general then belonging to the republic. It was in vain that Crassus gave to the people a tithe of his wealth, and a feast, set out on ten thousand tables, and distributed to each citizen a sufficient supply of corn to last three months.² He only obtained the consulship with the permission of Pompey, and conjointly with him.

Pompey then ceased to spare the senate, of whom he

¹ Plut. *Life of Crassus*.

² Id. *ib*.

thought he had no need. Even during the life of Sylla, he had allowed it to be seen that he remained with regret in the party of the nobles, who despised him as a knight and deserter from the Italian party. He had led his army from Africa, contrary to the orders of the dictator; he had triumphed in spite of him. Sylla, who appreciated him at his true value, did not care to re-commence the civil war for an affair of vanity. But he testified his aversion for him, by omitting his name from his will, in which he left legacies to all his friends. Pompey was none the less, after the death of Sylla as during his lifetime, the executor of the wishes of the faction in Italy and in Spain.

It was not till after the expiration of ten years, when a great many of Sylla's veterans had disappeared, that Pompey broke with the senate, and turned towards the knights and the populace.

The tool of Pompey in this reaction against the senate, was another knight, M. Tullius Cicero, a brilliant and happy advocate, a poor politician, but with an extraordinary docility of talent and a marvellous fecundity of mind. He was, like Marius, a native of Arpinum; his first composition was a poem in honour of his countryman. He made his first appearance at the bar in a most honourable manner, defending, under Sylla, one Roscius, whom a man, freed by the dictator, wished to put to death that he might plunder him. It is true that this Roscius himself belonged to the party of Sylla; that he was protected by all the nobility, by the Servilii and by the Scipios; that he was the client of the omnipotent Metelli; and that, even during the trial, he was received in the house of Cecilia Metella. The true defender was the illustrious Messala, and Cicero was simply put forward. The nobility were indignant at the audacity of the low-born people, by whom Sylla liked to be surrounded, and who considered themselves licensed to commit any actions, under the shadow of his name. Sylla himself, then in Etruria, wished to terminate the disorders of the civil war; he effected laws against poisoning, forgery, violence, and extortion. Cicero, therefore, risked nothing; but it was an infinite honour for him to have been the first whose voice was heard after the proscriptions. The panegyrist of Marius was, upon this

occasion, obliged to sound the praises of Sylla, but it was approved in him that he did not do it with too much meanness. From that time, all the oppressed party—knights, publicans, and the municipal towns—had their eyes on him. If he had been a warrior, if he had had, at least, some dignity and some continuity in his political conduct, he would have become the chief of this party, in whom Pompey so little deserved to inspire confidence. But he submitted with a good grace to act under Pompey, and for him. What the senators most dreaded was, to see themselves deprived of the judicial power, which Sylla had given them, and which assured them impunity for themselves and dominion over the knights. They consented more readily to the re-establishment of the tribuneship, which only diminished the common power of their body; they hoped that, at this price, they might preserve the privilege of deciding in the tribunals. But when once Pompey had caused tribunes to be elected by the populace, and when the comitia of the tribes had been re-established, nothing was more easy than to deprive the senators of the judicial power. It was sufficient to bring to light, and to proclaim in the public square, the infamy and cruel tyranny which they had exercised in the provinces since they had been sole judges of their own crimes. It was easy, without directly attacking the whole body of nobles, to bring one of their number to their tribunals; to reveal, in a single case, the infamy of all, and to place them between the double danger of avowing the disgrace of their order by a condemnation, or of crowning it by absolving the accused. Cicero was charged with thus carrying on the prosecution of one of the nobles, or rather, of the nobility.

The man by whose disgrace it was undertaken to sully the reputation of the whole senate, and to prostrate it, bore the ignoble name of Verres. He was the friend of the Metelli, and had endeared himself to the faction by deserting the camp of Carbo for that of Sylla, to whom he took the money of the quæstor; and afterwards, by putting to death all the soldiers of Sertorius who sought an asylum in Sicily.¹ Many Roman knights who were established in

¹ Cic. in *Verrem*.

Sicily and Asia, many Italians who levied taxes, or traded, or held banks, and a multitude of Greeks from Sicily and other provinces, deposed against Verres, and overwhelmed him with their testimonies. The senators who composed the tribunal hastened to condemn him, and to render useless the eloquent invectives which Cicero had prepared; but he lost nothing by this. These carefully written discourses were copied, multiplied, dispersed, and read with great avidity. They have remained for the eternal condemnation of the Roman aristocracy, and for the justification of the emperors, whose tyranny was, for the provinces at least, comparatively a deliverance, a state of order and repose.

No doubt these knights, these publicans, these Roman merchants, established in Sicily, had mostly acquired by spoliation and theft what the prætor had deprived them of. But the natives had been still worse treated; the exactions, violences, sacrilegious thefts, committed by Verres in their houses, and in their temples, were innumerable. The love of the Grecian arts, which was very prevalent among the great men of Rome, was another incitement to robbery. The most revered Sicilian gods could not escape the prætor. The Hercules of Agrigentum, the Juno of Samos, the dreaded goddess of Sicily, the Ceres of Enna, were placed as objects of curiosity in the cabinet of Verres.¹ So many insults given to the local religion of the allies, only moderately affected, I think, the Roman people. Even the death of the Sicilian captives, who were unjustly condemned by Verres, was not, undoubtedly, what most moved the masters of the world. What made an impression was, that he had supported the pirates, whose expeditions every day interfered with the supply of provisions to Rome, and that he had ordered a Roman citizen to be beaten with rods, and crucified.

The condemnation of Verres was also that of the aristocracy. All the nobles were his friends; many amongst them had shared in the crimes of which he was convicted. One individual, named Nero, had, out of com-

¹ Cicero. *de Signis*.

plaisance for him, condemned to death a man whose only guilt was the having defended the honour of his daughter against Verres.¹

The senators could no longer retain the exclusive possession of the judicial power. Cicero overwhelmed them with a terrible enumeration of all the prevarications of their tribunals, and boldly asserted that there had been no complaints made of the knights when they possessed it.² Pompey, having given some games, shortly after the affair of Verres, assured himself of the populace. He also, in re-establishing the comitia by tribes, gave weight to the votes of the common people, and provided them with their principal means of subsistence, venality. Supported by the soldiers, the knights, and the labourers, he had no difficulty in depriving the senators of the privilege of deciding trials, and in forcing them to share the judicial power with the knights and tribunes chosen by the populace. (71.)

Thus this great work of Sylla, which the dictator thought to strengthen for ever by the extermination of the Italians and the proscription of the knights, which Pompey seemed to have assured by the reduction of Spain, and Lucullus by the humiliation of the publicans of Asia, Pompey sufficed to overthrow.

The first fruit which the knights drew from their victory, was the re-establishment of maritime communication, the interruption of which ruined their commerce, and the recovery of the enjoyment of Asia, of which Lucullus had deprived them. With this double aim they confided to Pompey, notwithstanding the senate, a power such as no other citizen had ever obtained. At the proposition of Gabinius, they gave him, that he might reduce the pirates, the empire of the sea, from Cilicia to the columns of Hercules, with absolute power over the shores for the distance of four hundred furlongs (twenty leagues) inland; more than this, an absolute authority, and without responsibility, over every one who was within these limits, with the privilege of taking from the quæstors and publicans all the money he required, of constructing five hundred ships, and

¹ Cicero. *ib.*

² *Id.* *ib.*

of raising soldiers, sailors, and rowers at his pleasure. This was not enough; they shortly afterwards added the commission to reduce Mithridates, and the command of the armies of Lucullus, with all the provinces of Asia. The triumphant party, that of the knights, was so interested in success, that it gave to its general a power disproportionate to the evil. Cicero was again in this the organ of the faction. Nothing was easier than to lead the people, nourished with the corn of Africa and Sicily, and whose subsistence was compromised by the pirates. For the rest, acute minds felt that power was not dangerous in hands so ill-fitted to hold it. Cæsar and Crassus only saw a useful precedent, and lent their aid to it.

These pirates¹ belonged to almost all the nations of Asia—Cilicians, Syrians, Cypriotes, Pamphilians, and natives of Pontus. It was, as it were, a vengeance, and a reaction of the East, which had been devastated by the soldiers of Italy, by her usurers and publicans, her merchants in slaves. They had been emboldened by the wars of Mithridates, whose auxiliaries they were. The civil wars of Rome, then the negligent cupidity of the great, who were occupied in plundering each his province, left the sea without care, and augmented the pirates with a number of fugitives.

“The power of the pirates had its foundation in Cilicia. Their progress was the more dangerous, because at first it was little taken notice of. In the Mithridatic war they assumed new confidence and courage, on account of some services they had rendered the king. After this, the Romans being engaged in civil wars at the very gates of their capital, the sea was left unguarded, and the pirates, by degrees, attempted higher things; they not only attacked ships, but islands, and maritime towns.—Many persons, distinguished for their wealth, their birth, and their capacity, embarked with them, and assisted in their depredation, as if their employment had been worthy the ambition of men of honour. They had in various places arsenals, ports, and watch-towers, all strongly forti-

¹ Appian, *Mithr. War.*

fied. Their fleets were not only extremely well-manned, supplied with skilful pilots, and fitted for their business by their lightness and celerity, but there was a parade of vanity about them, more mortifying than their strength, in gilded sterns, purple canopies, and plaited oars, as if they took a pride and triumphed in their villany. Music resounded, and drunken revels were exhibited on every coast. Here generals were made prisoners, there the cities the pirates had taken were paying their ransom, all to the great disgrace of the Roman power. The number of their galleys amounted to a thousand, and the cities they were masters of, to four thousand.

“Temples which had stood inviolably sacred till that time, they plundered. They ruined the temple of Apollo at Claros; that where he was worshipped under the title of Didymæus;¹ that of the Cabiri in Samothrace; that of Ceres² at Hermione; that of Æsculapius at Epidaurius; those of Neptune in the Isthmus, at Tænarus, and in Calauria; those of Apollo at Actium, and in the isle of Leucas; those of Juno at Samos, Argos, and the promontory of Lacinium.³

“They likewise offered strange sacrifices; those of Olympus, I mean;⁴ and they celebrated certain secret mysteries, among which those of Mithra continue to this day,⁵ being originally instituted by them. They not only insulted the Romans at sea, but infested the great roads, and plundered the villas near the coast: they carried off Sextillus and Bellnius, two prætors, in their purple robes, with all their servants and *lictors*; they seized the

¹ So called from Didyme, in the territories of Miletus.

² Pausanias (*in Laconic.*) tells us, the Lacedæmonians worshipped Ceres under the name of *Chthonia*; and (*in Corinthiac.*) he gives us the reason of her having that name: “The Argives say, that *Chthonia*, the daughter of Colontas, having been saved out of a conflagration by Ceres, and conveyed to Hermione, built a temple to that goddess, who was worshipped there under the name of *Chthonia*.”

³ The printed text gives us the erroneous reading of *Leucanium*, but two manuscripts give us *Lacinium*. Livy often mentions Juno *Lacinia*.

⁴ Not on Mount Olympus, but in the city of Olympus, near Phaselis, in Pamphylia, which was one of the receptacles of the pirates. What sort of sacrifices they used to offer there is not known.

⁵ According to Herodotus, the Persians worshipped Venus under the name of Mithres, or Mithra; but the sun is worshipped in that country.

daughter of Antony, a man who had been honoured with a triumph, as she was going to her country house, and he was forced to pay a large ransom for her.

“But the most contemptuous circumstance of all was, that when they had taken a prisoner, and he cried out that he was a Roman, and told them his name, they pretended to be struck with terror, smote their thighs, and fell upon their knees to ask him pardon. The poor man seeing them thus humble themselves before him, thought them in earnest, and said he would forgive them; for some were so officious as to put on his shoes, and others to help him on with his gown, that his quality might no more be mistaken. When they had carried on this farce and enjoyed it for some time, they let a ladder down into the sea, and bad him go in peace; and if he refused to do it, they pushed him off the deck and drowned him.”¹

The power of the pirates was vast, but dispersed over all the seas. Pompey possessed forces so large that, after having divided out the Mediterranean, and distributed his fleet, he overcame them in three months. Gentleness did more than force in this case. Many surrendered to him with their families, and put him on the track of others. Those who did not hope for pardon, ventured a naval battle off Coracesium in Cilicia. Pompey, having become master of the forts which they possessed in Taurus and in the islands, gave them lands in Achaia and Cilicia, and peopled with them his town of Pompeiopolis, built upon the ruins of Soli. He was so desirous of conciliating these intrepid mariners, that he sent troops against Metellus, who cruelly pursued those of Crete, and fought for the pirates.²

Historians unanimously say, that when he arrived in Asia, he abolished all that Lucullus had done; that is to say, he re-established the financial tyranny of the knights and publicans. As for Mithridates, he was more difficult to find than to conquer. The first time that Pompey reached him, he thought to seize him, and failed; the second, he attacked him during the night, and the bar-

¹ Plutarch's *Life of Pompey*.

² This, perhaps, explains the invariable inferiority of Pompey and his party at sea.

barians did not sustain the first cry of the Romans.¹ Being repulsed by Tigranes, who received Pompey kneeling, Mithridates fled towards Caucasus, to the Albanians and Iberians. Pompey penetrated to the land of these barbarians, and routed, not without trouble, their ill armed multitudes. But he neither dared to enter Hyrcania, nor to traverse the Scythian regions on the north of the Euxine, to penetrate to the Bosphorus, of which Mithridates was still master. He preferred descending to the south to carry on an easier and more glorious war. With the exception of some unimportant combats, a sort of promenade sufficed, as Plutarch says, to finish the pompous work of the Roman empire. In passing, he subdued Syria, of which he made a province, and Judea, which he gave to whom he pleased. The news of the death of the king of Pontus arrived just in time to prevent his continuing an imprudent war against the Arabs, in which he had engaged.

The great Mithridates had, even in his flight, conceived the gigantic project of leading the barbarians towards Italy. The Scythians desired nothing better than to follow him. The Gauls, who had long been conciliated by him, waited for him to pass the Alps.² Old as he was, and devoured by an ulcer which obliged him to conceal himself, he put in motion the whole of the barbarians, whose re-union he wished to establish, so many centuries before Attila. The enormous extent of his preparations, and the terror at the war which he was going to undertake, turned his subjects against him. He had put to death three sons and three daughters, and had reserved as an heir, his son, Pharnaces, who betrayed him. The old king, fearing to be delivered to the Romans, tried to poison himself; two of his daughters, who remained with him, drank with him, and soon died. But Mithridates had so long fortified himself, by custom, against poisons, that he could not find any strong enough for him. The Gaul, Bituitus, who was attached to him, aided him with his sword to die. There was no longer in the east a king like

¹ Plut. *ut sup.*

² Appian, *Mithr. War.* i. 407.

Mithridates. This giant,¹ this man indestructible by fatigue as by poison, this man who spoke all languages, both learned and barbarian, left an enduring memory. At the present time, not far from Odessa, a seat cut in the rock which borders the sea is pointed out and called *the throne of Mithridates*.

The triumph of Pompey was more splendid than any hitherto seen. The names of the conquered nations were borne on banners: Pontus, Armenia, Cappadocia, Paphlagonia, Media, Colchis, the Iberians, the Albanians, Syria, Cilicia, Mesopotamia, Phœnicia, Judea, Arabia, and lastly the pirates. It was then seen that the conquests of Pompey had increased the public revenues from fifty millions of drachmas, to nearly eighty-two millions; that he had poured into the treasury the value of twenty thousand talents, without counting a distribution of fifteen hundred drachmas to each soldier. Pompey, who had triumphed the first time in Africa, the second in Europe (after Sertorius), now triumphed in Asia.

In this pompous display of the trophies of Pompey, a great part was owing to Lucullus. The result was grand, but how much had it cost? Cæsar, the conqueror of Pharsalia, envied Pompey for having so easily obtained success; and Cato said, that all the wars of Asia were only wars of women.²

Thus the mediocrity of all the Roman nobles, that scarcity of great generals of which Cicero, the friend of Pompey, so often complains, raised, for some time, this unworthy favourite of fortune to power, which he did not know how to use, till it was snatched from him by the man who was worthy of it.

¹ "We may judge," says Appian, "of the enormous size of Mithridates, from his armour, which he sent to Delphi and to Nemæa."

² Suet. c. 17. Cicero, *pro Murena*, c. 13.

CHAPTER V.

Julius Cæsar—Catiline—Consulship of Cæsar—War with the Gauls—
Civil war—Dictatorship of Cæsar, and his death, 63-44.

JULIUS CÆSAR sprang from a patrician family, who pretended to be descendants on one side from Venus, and on the other from Ancus Martius, king of Rome: "Thus," said he, in the funeral eulogy on his aunt Julia, "in my family may be found the sanctity of kings, who are the masters of the world; and the majesty of the gods, who are the masters of kings."¹ The aunt of Cæsar had married Marius.² The various elements which composed Rome, the old sacerdotal patriciate, the party of knights, and that of the Italians, seemed therefore to be united in Cæsar. At the epoch of which we now speak, he had no other reputation than that of a singularly eloquent young man, but dissolute and audacious, who gave everything to every one, and who gave himself to all those whose friendship he desired. These manners were those of all the young men at this epoch; what characterized Cæsar was that frightful prodigality, which borrowed, which gave, without reckoning, and which reserved to itself no other liquidation than civil war.³ It was audacity which, alone as he was in the world, made him, at seventeen years of age, resist the will of Sylla. The dictator wished to make him repudiate his wife. The great Pompey, then so powerful, had submitted to a similar order. Cæsar refused to obey; and he did not perish: his fortune was stronger than Sylla. All the

¹ "My aunt Julia derived her descent, by the mother, from a race of kings, and by her father, from the immortal gods. For the Marcii Reges, which was her mother's family, deduce their pedigree from Ancus Marcius, and the Julii, which is that of her father, from the goddess Venus. We therefore unite in our descent the sacred majesty of kings, the greatest among humankind, and the divine majesty of gods, to whom kings themselves are subject."—Suetonius, *L. of Jul. Cæs.*

² *Id. ib.*

³ *Id. ib.*

nobility, the vestals themselves, interceded with the dictator, and begged as a favour the life of this refractory boy: "You wish it," said he; "I grant it you; but in this boy I have a glimpse of more than one Marius."

Cæsar would not accept the pardon; neither would he obey: he took refuge in Asia. Having fallen into the hands of the pirates, he astonished them with his audacity. They demanded twenty talents for his ransom: "It is too little," said he; "you shall have fifty; but once free, I will crucify you."¹ And he kept his word. On his return to Rome, he dared to restore the trophies of Marius. At a later period, being charged with informing against murderers, he punished, under this title, the paid ruffians of Sylla, without any respect for the laws of the dictator. Thus, he openly announced himself as the defender of humanity, against the party which had supported the unity of the city at the price of so much blood. All who were oppressed could apply to Cæsar. During his quæstorship, he favoured the Latin colonies, who wished to recover the rights of which Sylla had deprived them. On the first two occasions that he appeared at the bar, it was to speak in favour of the Greeks, against two Roman magistrates. He was seen at a later period, in the midst of the marshes and forests of Gaul, during a terrible war, ornamenting the towns of Greece and Asia with public monuments, at his own expense. He attended even to the barbarians and the slaves themselves; he kept a great number of gladiators to fight at the public games; but when the spectators seemed to desire their death, he ordered them to leave the arena; he had no better soldiers in the civil war. The ancient world excluded females from the citizenship. Cæsar set the example of rendering public honours even to young women; he solemnly pronounced the funeral eulogy on his aunt Julia and on Cornelia his wife. Thus, by the liberality of his spirit, by his magnanimity, even by his vices, Cæsar was the representative of humanity against the hard and austere spirit of the Republic; he who opened to the world the gates of Rome, deserved to be the founder of the Empire.

¹ Suet. *Life of Jul. Cæs.*

In good and in evil, Cæsar was the man of humanity; Cato the man of the law. The latter was a descendant of Cato the censor, that rough Italian who had so fiercely striven against another Cæsar. In the last Cato, the passionate severity of the Porcian family was refined and softened, as it were, by the Greek stoicism. He alone was more respected at Rome than the magistrates and the senate. At the games in honour of Flora, the people waited till Cato had left the theatre before demanding an immodest dance.

His enemies not knowing what to advance against such a man, made false charges against him; they accused him of drinking after supper—he had never been seen intoxicated; of appearing obstinate—he was a little deaf; of flying into a passion—but at this epoch everything tended to irritate him; and at length, of being too economical. Cæsar, in his *Anti-Cato*, maliciously says, that having burnt the body of his brother, he passed it through a sieve to obtain the gold which had been melted by the fire.

The reproach which Cato really merited was, that blind rigour, that obstinate attachment to the past, which made him incapable of comprehending his own time. It was the cynical ostentation with which he liked to brave, in indifferent things, the people in the midst of whom he lived. He was seen, even during his prætorship, to traverse the square without a toga, in a simple tunic, with bare feet, like a slave, and thus seat himself on his tribunal.

In the struggle for the liberty of his country, which he so long maintained, Cato had not, at first, Cæsar for an adversary, but was opposed by the rich Crassus and the powerful Pompey. The former, who, since the time of Sylla, and at first by favour of the proscriptions, had increased his fortune from three hundred talents to seven thousand, (£1,400,000,) intended, sooner or later, to purchase Rome. Crassus, says Plutarch, was very partial to the conversation of the Greek Alexander. He took him with him into the country, lent him a bat for the journey, and asked him for it again on his return. It was not to be feared that such a man would ever become the master of the world.

Such were the principal combatants. Let us examine the field of battle.

The tyranny of the knights, usurers, and publicans, was so great, that every one expected a general insurrection after the departure of Pompey. All the ambitious men held themselves in readiness. Cæsar, Crassus, Catiline, the tribune Rullus, and even the indolent inheritors of the name of Sylla.¹ The conquering party, that of the knights, was disarmed by the removal of its general, and had only Cicero to oppose to the dangers which menaced the republic on all sides. Liberty was not thought of; it had long perished: but property itself was in danger. The evil which caused the breaking up of this old society, was the injustice and illegality which marked the origin of all property in Italy. The ancient Italian races of the South, who had long been deprived of their lands, either by the Roman populace sent in colonies, or by the usurers, knights, and publicans, had been almost annihilated by Sylla. Usury had expropriated, in their turn, the ancient Roman colonists, and the soldiers established by Sylla in Etruria. The senators and the knights changed their lands into pasturage, and substituted, for free labourers, enslaved shepherds. Etruria, which had long been preserved, in its turn, suffered this cruel transformation. In every part of Italy wandered a formidable mass of ex-landowners, who had been dispossessed at different epochs: first, the Italians, and above all the Etruscans, exterminated by Sylla; then the soldiers of Sylla themselves, and often the noble Roman, who had ruined himself after having ruined them; all equally in one state of misery. Add to these, ferocious herdsmen, wandering with their masters' flocks in the solitudes of the Apennines, often no longer acknowledging masters, and subsisting on plunder, like the black maroons of the modern colonies; and lastly, the gladiators, wild beasts who had been kept unchained, to be let loose on occasion, and who constituted for each senator and each knight a little army of assassins.

¹ His justification of his client is far from being conclusive.—Cicero, *pro Corn. Sylla*.

“I see,” said Catiline to Cicero, “I see in the republic, a head without a body, and a body without a head; I will be this head which is wanting.” This sentence admirably describes Roman society. So many oppressed called for a chief to assist them against the despicable aristocracy of the great Roman land-owners, senators, and knights. But even if this chief had possessed the genius of Cæsar, the wealth of Crassus, and the military glory of Pompey, he would not have been able to conciliate so many opposite pretensions, or to cure so complex an evil. An universal transference of property, which could only have been accomplished by shedding torrents of blood, would not have ended the troubles. These lands, had they been torn from the great land-owners, to whom could they have been given (they were, in most cases, claimed by many masters)? should they have been given to the veterans of Sylla, to the ancient Roman colonist whom he had plundered, or to the children of the Italian land-owner, dispossessed by the colonist, who lived, perhaps, still supported by public distributions, lodged in the upper rooms of those vast Roman houses (*insulæ*,) where, at the height of seven stories, all the misery of Rome was crowded together. These lands, from which the great land-owners had removed all the limits, rough stones, *termini* and tombs,—these fields whose surface he had, often designedly, mixed and confounded—what *agrimensor*, however clear-sighted—what judge, however upright—could have recognised them, measured them, or divided them?

A change seemed imminent, whatever might be the difficulties. Cæsar gave the first signal by an act of solemn justice, which condemned the long-continued tyranny of the knights; he had already branded that of the *nobles*, by punishing the hired ruffians of Sylla. He accused old Rabirius, an agent for the knights, who, thirty years before, had killed a tribune, a defender of the rights of the Italians, Apuleius Saturninus. The knights preserved an implacable remembrance of Saturninus; they had made it a capital crime to preserve a portrait of this tribune. They arrived from Apulia and from Campania, where they possessed all the estates; in concert with the senate,

they defended Rabirius, through the medium of Cicero, and, nevertheless, could only save him by violently dissolving the assembly.¹ Cæsar saw that the revolution was not ripe, and awaited in formidable silence.

Then appeared the tribune Rullus, who offered to rectify, by a single law, the universal evil of the republic; this evil, as we have said, was the injustice with which the origin of all property was then infected. Rullus proposed to buy the lands, for the purpose of establishing colonies; and to share amongst the poor citizens all the public property, by indemnifying those who had usurped it. The tribune undertook, with the aid of his friends, to execute this immense work, which must necessarily pass through his hands the fortune of the empire, comprehending the recent conquests of Pompey.

The knights, terrified at a proposition which would have compromised, or legalized at a great expense, their usurpations, contrived to elude the proposition of Rullus by the address of Cicero. The skilful orator represented that the Romans had never bought the site of their colonies, and persuaded the people that it was unworthy of Rome to establish her children on lands legitimately acquired.² He insinuated, above all, that the law of Rullus would cut off the lands whence they procured the corn which was distributed to the common people. This last argument was decisive with this idle populace; they preferred corn to land, and did not admire quitting the public square and the combats of the gladiators.

Cicero encountered a more dangerous adversary in the senator Catiline, his rival for the consulship. The most implacable enemies of the latter agree in saying that he

¹ Cicero, *pro Rabirio*, c. 24, and *Val. Max.* viii. 1.—“While the centuria were giving their votes in the Campus Martius, a standard was hoisted on the Janiculum. This ancient custom dated from an epoch when, the enemy being close to the walls of Rome, a sudden attack was feared. Metellus Celer saved Rabirius by plucking down the standard, a proceeding which at once, as a matter of course, dissolved the assembly.”—Dio, p. 219.

² “There is no monument more important for the history of Rome than the speeches on the agrarian law of Rullus. *Vos vero retinete, quirites, possessionem urbis, gratiæ*—will you allow yourselves to be sold, he asks in another place, *hosseum legionum, solatium annonæ*.”—*In Rullum*, c. 25.

Catiline

possessed a great and strong nature, and a soul of incredible energy. His life had, it is true, been sullied; but he was a devoted friend, and, till death, Cicero admitted that there was an irresistible seduction in the friendship of Catiline, and that he himself very nearly yielded to it.¹ Under Sylla he had disgraced himself, like Crassus and many others; Crassus had redeemed himself: he was rich. Catiline, ruined and in debt, remained under the full weight of shame. This consciousness of dishonour had turned into fury; he plunged still deeper into infamy. His pale and disquieted countenance, his blood-shot eyes, his step, sometimes slow, sometimes precipitate, seemed to mark the victim of a horrible fatality. All the Romans and Italians who were lost in misery and crime resorted to Catiline. Ruined veterans of Sylla, dispossessed Italians, provincial debtors, without counting a band of depraved and audacious young men, sanguinary favourites, who never quitted him, and who constituted the disgraceful part of the faction; all these fluttered in the Forum round Catiline, only waiting his signal. All the aristocracy, senators, knights, publicans, and usurers, believed themselves threatened with a massacre.

(Anything might be suspected of the friends of Catiline, anything believed of them. The knights forgot nothing which could add to the terror of the public; the most absurd reports were well received. Catiline, they said, killed his own son, in order to obtain the hand of a woman who would not have a son-in-law; he intends to massacre all the senators; he will (this affected the common people more) set fire to the four corners of the town; he has found the silver eagle belonging to Marius; he offers up human sacrifices to it; the conspirators, at their nocturnal meetings, confirm their oaths by drinking, all round, the blood of a murdered man. And so on.—Sallust goes even so far as to say that Catiline ordered

¹ "He seems almost ready to defend Catiline, and to come to an understanding with him as to the consulate. He pleaded for several of Catiline's friends, for Sylla, Cælius, &c."—Cicero, *pro Cælio*, c. 5, 6; *ad Attic.* i. 1, 2.

useless assassinations, that his friends might not lose the habit of murdering.¹

The public terror, so ably augmented, raised Cicero to the consulship. (63.) But this was not enough; it was necessary to crush Catiline. Cicero proposed a law, which added an exile of ten years to the penalties already attending conspiracies.² This was making a direct attack upon him; and sufficient to throw him, guilty or not, into the conspiracy of which he was accused. Cicero boldly declared the imminence of the danger; he took a cuirass, armed all the knights, and believed himself so strong that he dared, in an invective against Catiline, to proclaim that debtors must not hope for any relief. "What do you expect," said he; "new tables of law, an abolition of the debts? I will prepare some tables, but they shall be tables of sale."³

These harsh words expressed the thoughts of the knights. Catiline, loaded with imprecations, was obliged to leave the senate, where he had again had the audacity to appear; but he let fall, in retiring, some sinister words: "You are kindling a fire against me; very well! I will extinguish it under ruins!"

¹ "And if no present opportunity occurred for the exercise of their talent, yet he kept them doing, by employing him to circumvent and murder such as had given him no offence, as if they had; that is, to keep their hands and minds in use, he was wicked and cruel without any provocation so to be."—Cicero, in *Cat.* i. 9. Sallust, *Catil.* c. 16.

"To-day the emperor read in the Roman history the story of Catiline's conspiracy. He said he could not comprehend it, as it has come down to us. However great a wretch Catiline may have been, he observed, he must have had some object: it could not be that of governing in Rome, for he was charged with the design of burning down the city. The emperor was disposed to regard the affair as that of a faction, like Sylla or Marius, which, finding its purpose defeated, accumulated upon the head of its chief all the wild accusations which are put forward on such occasions."—*Mem. de St. Hélène*, 22 March, 1816.

² "The affair of Catiline made far more noise than it merited, in consequence of the speeches of Cicero—his morbid grasping after notoriety."—Dio, p. 130, 8.

³ Clodius said afterwards that he would make the knights *pay for the steps of the Capitol*.—Cicero, *post. Red.* 5, 13. If any one doubts that Cicero was invariably the man of the knights and the publicans, let him read *Prolege Maniliâ*, c. 2, 7; *de petit. Consul*, c. 1, and he will be quite satisfied on the subject.—Cicero in *Catil.* ii. 8.

His departure created an immense commotion in Italy. Upon all the wild summits of the Apennines,¹ the inhabitants took up arms; in Apulia and in Brutium the herdsmen and slaves of the knights revolted; and in Etruria, the veterans of Sylla rose up, this time in union with the labourers, whom they had formerly despoiled of their lands. Lentulus, Cethegus, and the other friends of Catiline who remained in Rome, negotiated with the deputies of the Allobroges, who had come to demand some alleviation of the frightful miseries which oppressed them. Many of the grandes of Rome were aware of this conspiracy. Cæsar was not a stranger to it. Crassus, having appeared to encourage it, denounced it.²

The Allobroges also thought to gain more by delivering up the letters of the conspirators. Lentulus acknowledged his writing, and confessed all. He considered himself secured by the law of Sempronius, which permitted a Roman citizen to prevent a capital condemnation, by voluntary exile. This law was, perhaps, dangerous, but still it existed. Cæsar dared to defend the cause of humanity and of the law, and ran the risk of being torn in pieces. By the advice of Cato, it was decreed, *that the law of Sempronius protected, it was true, the life of the citizens; but that the enemy of his country was no longer a citizen.*³ The immediate death of the conspirators was the consequence of this pitiable sophism. But Cicero's heart failed him; he was naturally a mild and gentle man, who feared to undertake such a thing. His wife, Terentia, therefore, employed her irresistible authority.⁴ She determined him to have the conspirators strangled in prison. In the evening, the consul traversed the Forum, and said: *They have lived.* He was re-conducted, as in triumph, by more than two thousand knights.

The enemies of Catiline hastened to crush him before he had organized his party. If he had been allowed time to escape from the snowy heights of the Apennines, Cicero himself afterwards said, he would have occupied the defiles of the mountains, invaded the rich pastures, drawn

¹ Cicero, in *Catil.*

² Cicero, in *Catil.* iv. 5.

³ Plut. *Life of Crassus.*

⁴ Plut. *Life of Cicero.*

the pastors to his party,¹ and perhaps caused a revolt in Italian Gaul. He was, as yet, only in Etruria, where most of the free labourers and of the veterans of Sylla were assembled. Perhaps he had even relations in this country. The name of Catiline seems Etruscan. An Etruscan commanded one division of his army,² the other was under the command of Mallius, an old soldier who had served under Sylla. The consul Antonius, whom Cicero had detached from the conspiracy, was ashamed to fight against Catiline, and feigned sickness. Catiline had only been able to arm a quarter of those who followed him; which proves, let us remark in passing, that the conspiracy had not been long premeditated. He was defeated, and was killed in the battle, as were also his two lieutenants (the Etruscan and Mallius), and nearly all those who had followed them. Catiline was found in the thick of the Roman army, into which he had cut his way; the others covered with their bodies the place where they fought. This heroic end makes me believe that this party has been calumniated. Certainly, those who perished thus were not, apparently, so effeminate as Cicero, in his harangues, always represented the men composing the retinue of Catiline to be.

The conquering party avowed the fears which it had entertained, by the excess of its joy and of its enthusiasm for Cicero. He himself was led away like the others. He believed himself a hero, invited historians and poets to celebrate his consulship, celebrated it himself, and, considering himself henceforth equal to Pompey, did not hesitate to say—

Cedant arma togæ, concedat laurea linguæ.³

O fortunatam natam me Consule Romam.

These ridiculous verses were less prejudicial to him than the versatility with which he defended Murena, who was guilty of conspiracy; he who, by his law against conspiracy, had provoked the explosion of the plot of Catiline. Murena was the friend of the knights, Sylla that of the nobles. Cicero, again, had the weakness to defend the

¹ Cicero, *pro P. Sextio*. ² Sallust, *Catil.* c. 59.

³ Quint. ii. i.

latter, who had been an accomplice of Catiline. Thus did the great orator brave opinion. He reigned in Rome. *This is the third foreign king that we have had*, said his enemies; *the two first were Tatius and Numa*.¹

Pompey, on his return after his glorious successes in Asia, was astonished to find his creature so powerful. It was the fate of this fortunate soldier, who had neither head nor tongue, always to choose those who made him repent of his choice. Thus he successively raised Cicero, Clodius, and Cæsar; he afterwards exiled the first, and killed the second; as for the third, he found in him his master. Even before the return of Pompey, his partizan, Metellus Nepos, had accused Cicero, and proposed that Pompey should be entrusted with reforming the republic. But the aristocracy had become so bold and so violent since the death of Catiline, that Metellus was obliged to take refuge in the camp of Pompey. Cicero was afterwards attacked in those who had seconded him against Catiline, the consul Antonius and the prætor Flaccus.²

At length Pompey, wishing to confirm all that he had done in Asia, in spite of Cicero, Lucullus, and Cato, united himself closely with Crassus and Cæsar. The latter found means of reconciling Pompey and Crassus, and of being raised by them to the consulship. (59.)

The historian Dio has transmitted to us the history of Cæsar's consulship, with more details than are given by Suetonius or Velleius, and more impartiality than the romancer Plutarch,³ who is always influenced by his classical enthusiasm for the ancient republics, the real spirit of which he does not understand. "Cæsar proposed an agrarian law, which it was impossible to blame."⁴ There

¹ Cicero, *pro Murena*, c. 33.

² Cic. *pro domo sua*, c. 16.—Pro Flacco. A speech of great importance as to the relations of the Romans in Asia; see c. 28, 29, on the Jews, and 29, 30, 35, on the fearful tyranny of the knights and publicans.

³ "He is a very agreeable historian, and very little known to those who do not read him in his native tongue; his merit is wholly in his style. He utterly despises facts, making history just what suits his purpose, of obtaining a reputation as an able writer. He would have made Pompey gain the battle of Pharsalia, if the doing so had enabled him to give a rounder turn to a phrase."—P. L. Courier, *Corresp.*, 25th Aug. 1809.

⁴ Dio, xxxvii. No. i. 7.

was then an idle and famished multitude whom it was essentially necessary to employ in tilling the ground. On the other hand, it was needful to repeople the solitudes of Italy. • This object Cæsar fulfilled without injuring either the republic or the landowners. He divided the public lands (and especially Campania) amongst those who had three children or more. Capua thus became a Roman colony. But the public lands did not suffice; patrimonial lands were to be purchased according to the value set upon them by the censors. The money brought by Pompey could not have been better employed than in founding colonies where the soldiers who had conquered Asia might find room." Up to this point, Cæsar's law was in many respects very similar to that of Rullus. It differed from it inasmuch as that the author of the law did not undertake to carry it into execution.¹

When Cæsar read his law in the presence of the whole senate, and asked of each senator, in succession, if he had anything to say against it, none attacked it; yet it was, nevertheless, rejected by all. Cæsar then appealed to the people. Pompey, when asked by him whether he would uphold his law, replied, that if any one attacked it with the sword, he would defend it with sword and shield. Crassus spoke to the same effect. Cato, and Bibulus, the colleague of Cæsar, who opposed it at the peril of their lives, could not hinder the law from being passed. From that time Bibulus shut himself up in his house, declaring all the days of his consulate to be *feriæ*. But he was the only one who observed them as such; Cæsar took no notice of his absence. He appeased the knights, who had been angry with him since the time of Catiline, by remitting them one-third of the heavy price they had paid for the farming of the taxes. He confirmed all the acts of Pompey in Asia, sold the friendship of Rome to the king of Egypt, and granted the same advantage to Ariovistus, king of the Suevi, settled in Gaul. Cæsar was already looking towards the north. Although declaring that he asked nothing for himself, he had contrived to obtain the two Gauls and Illyria for five years. Cisalpine Gaul

¹ Id. ib.

was the province nearest to Rome, and Transalpine Gaul that which opened the widest field to military genius, and promised the severest exercise and the hardest preparation for civil war.

In the pitiable agitation of Rome, and in the midst of a society fallen so low that its two heroes were Pompey and Cicero, he certainly was a great man who, casting on one side all petty considerations, went into exile that he might return master. Italy was exhausted, and Spain unruly. Gaul alone could subdue Rome. I should have liked to see that white and pale countenance, withered before its time by the debauches of Rome; that delicate and epileptic man, walking at the head of his legions under the rains of Gaul, swimming across our rivers, or riding on horseback among the litters in which his secretaries were borne, and dictating four or six letters at a time, agitating Rome from the remotest parts of Belgium, sweeping away two millions of men on his path, and in the space of ten years subduing Gaul, the Rhine, and the northern ocean. (58-49.)¹

The barbarous and warlike chaos of Gaul was splendid matter for such a genius. On every hand the Gallic tribes called for the stranger. The torrent of the Cimri had swept over the old aristocracy of the Gallic clans. The sediment it left was the druidical creed, a dark and sanguinary religion, but of a more elevated tone than the worship of the elements, which formerly prevailed in Gaul. The Romans call Britain the land of the druids; doubtless,² because the druids of Gaul then considered this island as the centre of their faith. The druidical establishments were generally to be found in islands or peninsulas. The nine virgins of the island of Lena soothed to sleep or awoke the tempest at their will. Those of the mouth of the Loire also lived in islands, whence they came at prescribed epochs to visit their husbands during the night, and hastened to reach in their boats the sacred island before day-light. Others, who lived on the rocks near Brittany, there celebrated mysterious orgies, and frightened away the mariners by their

¹ Suetonius. *Plut. passim.*

² Cæsar, *Bell. Gall.*; Amedée Thierry, *Hist. des Gaules*,

furious cries, and the sinister harmony of their barbarous cymbals.¹

The prodigious monument of Carnac is in a small peninsula of the great Breton peninsula. According to tradition, the bodies of the dead were borne to the island of Ouessant, whence the souls flew to the sacred isle of Albain, or Albion, and perhaps even to the isle of Mona. The Veneti and other tribes of Brittany, kept up a constant intercourse with Great Britain, whence they obtained aid in carrying on their wars. Cæsar informs us that the Divitiacus,² or druid chief of the Suessones (Soissons), had formerly reigned over Britain and a great portion of Gaul. It was in Britain that the Bellovaci (Beauvais), enemies to Cæsar, took refuge. The great druidical festivals were celebrated on the boundary of the Carnutes, perhaps at Genabum, an island of the Loire, close to the Roman town of Orleans. *Genabum* (river cut) is synonymous with *Lutetia* (river divided).³

The Carnutes were amongst the clients of the Rhemi (Rheims). The Senones (Sens), allied to the Carnutes and the Parisii, had been clients or vassals of the Ædui (Autun); and such had, perhaps, also been the case with the Bituriges (Berri).⁴ Thus, the druids seem to have extended their sway over Brittany and Great Britain, and on the basins of the Seine and the Loire. Towards the north, the Belgæ had repulsed the Cimbri, and also probably their druidism. The only Cimbric colony known

¹ Strabo, ii. 1, iv. 196.

² "Among the Suessiones, even of late years, Divitiacus had been king, one of the most powerful princes of all Gaul, and who, besides his dominions in these parts, reigned also over Britain. That their present sovereign was Galba, whose singular prudence and justice had procured him, by the consent of all the confederates, the supreme command in the war."—Cæsar, B. G., ii. 1.

"*Div, dùn, diu; divisa*, arbitration, in several Latino-Celtic monuments; *diwis*, election, in bas-breton; *galb*, gross, fat, in bas-breton; *galba*, hardness, rigour, in Irish; in the passage cited above, the druid chief, the *Divitiacus*, extends his dominion from Soissons to the sacred isle of Britain; that of the *galb* (military chief?) did not reach beyond Belgium.

³ *Luh*, river; *dae* or *tee*, cut; *cen*, division; *abou*, a river. The Loire forms an island near Orleans, as the Seine does at Paris.

⁴ Cæsar, vi. 1, and *passim*.

amongst them is that of Aduat (Aduat, Eduat?) established in the centre of a girdle of enormous rocks, destined by nature to receive a druidical city.¹ Towards the south, the Arverni and all the Iberian nations of Aquitania had generally remained faithful to their hereditary chiefs. Even in Celtica, the druids had been able to oppose the ancient inclination to clans only by favouring the formation of a free population in the large towns, of which the chiefs or patrons were at least elective like the druids, and only held their office during their lifetime.² Thus, two factions shared all the Gallic states; that of inheritance, or of the chiefs of clans, and that of election, or of the druids and chiefs for life of the people of the towns. At the head of the first faction were the Ædui; and at the head of the second, the Arverni and the Sequani. Thus began, even at that epoch, the eternal war between Burgundy and Franche - Comté. The Sequani, oppressed by the Ædui, who closed the Saône against them, and prevented their great commerce in pork,³ invited over from Germany tribes to whom druidism was unknown, and who were designated by the common name of Suevi. These savage tribes were quite willing to comply; they crossed the Rhine, under the guidance of an individual named Ariovistus, defeated the Ædui and laid them under tribute; but the Sequani, who had called them over, were still worse treated; according to the custom of German conquerors, they took away from them one-third of their lands, and wished to have as much more. It was then that both Ædui and Sequani, being united by a common misfortune, sought other foreign aid. Two brothers were in power amongst the Ædui; Dumnorix (who owned many fortresses), being enriched by the taxes and tolls, of which, by force or persuasion, he had succeeded in obtaining the monopoly, had rendered himself beloved by the lower classes of the towns, and aimed at royalty; he connected himself with the Helvetian Gauls, married an Helvetian woman, and advised this people to leave the sterile vales of their country for the

¹ Cæsar, ii. 30; Dio, xxxix. 94.

² See Amedée Thierry, ii. 115.

³ Strabo, vi. 192.

rich plains of Gaul. The other brother, who was a druid, a title most probably identical with that of Divitiacus, preferred giving to his country less barbarous deliverers. He went to Rome,¹ and implored the assistance of the senate, who had termed the *Ædui relations and friends of the Roman people*. But the chief of the Suevi, who had likewise sent an ambassador, succeeded in receiving also the title of the friend of Rome. The impending invasion of the Helvetii probably compelled the senate to unite with Ariovistus.

These mountaineers had for the last three years made such preparations that it was evident they never meant to return. They had burned their twelve towns and their four hundred villages, and destroyed the furniture and provisions which they could not carry away. It was said that they meant to cross the whole of Gaul, and to establish themselves towards the west, in the land of the Santones (Saintes). They doubtless hoped to find more rest on the shores of the great ocean than in their rude Helvetia, around which all the nations of the ancient world met and fought—Gauls, Cimbrians, Teutons, Suevi, and Romans. Their wives and children included, their numbers were three hundred and seventy-eight thousand. This embarrassing train made them prefer for their route the Roman province. Towards the entrance, and near the lake of Geneva, they found Cæsar, who opposed their way, and delayed them long enough for him to erect, from the lake to the Jura, a wall ten thousand paces long and sixteen feet high. They were therefore compelled to take the rocky vales of the Jura, cross the lands of the Sequani, and go up the Saône. Cæsar overtook them as they were crossing the river, attacked the tribe of the Tigurini, which was isolated from the rest, and destroyed it. Cæsar, wanting provisions, owing to the ill will of the *Æduan Dumnorix* and of the party which had called over the Helvetii, was obliged to turn his steps towards Bibracte (Autun). The Helvetii thought he was flying, and pursued him in their turn. Cæsar, thus situated between foes and unfriendly allies, escaped by gaining a

¹ Cicero, *de Divin.* i.

sanguinary victory. The Helvetii being once more stopped on their flight towards the Rhine, were obliged to give up their arms, and to promise to return to their own country. Six thousand of their number, who fled during the night, to escape from this disgrace, were, says Cæsar,¹ brought back by the Roman cavalry, and *treated as enemies*.

It was nothing to have repulsed the Helvetii, if the Suevi were to invade Gaul; the emigrations were incessant; an hundred and twenty thousand men had already passed over. *Gaul was about to become Germany*.

Cæsar apparently yielded to the prayers of the Sequani and Suevi, who were oppressed by the barbarians. The same druid who had solicited the aid of Rome, guided Cæsar towards Ariovistus, and undertook to explore the road. The chief of the Suevi had obtained from Cæsar himself, during his consulship, the title of ally of the Roman people; he was astonished at being attacked by him: "This," said the barbarian, "is my Gaul; you have yours; if you leave me alone, you will gain by it; I will make all the wars you wish, without either pain or peril to you. Do you not know what men those Germans are? It is now more than four years since we slept under a roof."² These words produced too strong an impression on the Roman army; everything that was told of the height and ferocity of those northern giants caused the diminutive men of the south to shudder.³ Nothing was to be seen in the camp but people making their wills. Cæsar made them ashamed of this. "If you abandon me," said he, "I shall still go on; the tenth legion will be enough for me." He then led them to Besançon, took the town, came up to the camp of the barbarians, not far from the Rhine, forced them to fight, although they wished to wait for the new moon, and destroyed them in a furious combat; almost all those who escaped, perished in the Rhine.

The Gauls of the north, Belgians and others, judged, not without some reason, that if the Romans had driven away the Suevi, it was only to take their place. They

¹ Lib. i. c. 28.

² Cæsar, *Bell. Gall.* i. 11.

³ So the Gauls designated the Romans at the siege of Aduat.—Cæsar, ii. c. 30.

formed a vast coalition, and Cæsar seized this pretext to enter Belgica; he had with him, as guide and interpreter, the Divitiacus¹ of the Ædui.

He was invited to come by the Senones, ancient vassals of the Ædui, by the Rhemi, lords of the druidical land of the Carnuti. It is most likely that these tribes, devoted to druidism, or at least to the popular party, saw with pleasure the arrival of the friend of the druids, and meant to oppose him to the northern Belgæ, their ferocious neighbours. Thus, five centuries afterwards, the Catholic clergy of the Gauls favoured the invasion of the Franks against the Visigoths and the Arian Burgundians.

This war in the muddy plains and virgin forests of the Seine and the Meuse would, however, have offered but a dark and disheartening prospect to a less adventurous general. Like the conquerors of America, Cæsar was often obliged to use the axe, in order to make himself a path, to throw bridges over marshes, and to advance with his legions, sometimes on *terra firma* and sometimes by fording or swimming across rivers. The Belgæ intertwined the branches of the trees in their forests in the same manner as those of America are naturally linked by their creepers. But Pizarro and Cortez, with such a superiority of arms, carried on a war of which the termination could not remain doubtful; and what were the Peruvians, when compared with those harsh and choleric people the Bellovaci and Nervii (Picardy, Hainault, Flanders), who came to attack Cæsar, an hundred thousand at a time. The Bellovaci and Suessones were reconciled through the Divitiacus of the Ædui;² but the Nervii, supported by the Atrebates and Veromandui, surprised the Roman army on its way along the banks of the Sambre, buried in their deep forests, and thought themselves on the point of destroying it. Cæsar was obliged to seize a standard

¹ The Divitiacus who acted as pioneer when Cæsar marched against the Suevii (I and 10). The Germans, says Cæsar, have no druids (vi. 5). They would appear to have been the protectors of the anti-druid party in Gaul.

² Up to the expedition to Britain we find the Æduan Divitiacus accompanying Cæsar everywhere; he, doubtless, persuaded his people that he should, by Cæsar's influence, restore in Belgium the Æduan influence, that is, of the druidical and popular party (ii. 4).

and rush forward; this brave nation was wholly destroyed. Their allies, the Cimbri, who occupied Aduat (Namur?), frightened at the sight of the works by which Cæsar surrounded their city, feigned to yield themselves up, threw part of their arms over the walls, and with what remained to them attacked the Romans. Cæsar sold fifty-three thousand of them as slaves.

No longer concealing his project of subjecting Gaul, he undertook to reduce all the tribes on the coasts. He pierced through the forests of the Menapi and of the Morini (Zealand, Guelderland, Ghent, Bruges, and Boulogne); one of his lieutenants subdued the Unelli, Euburovians, and Lexovians, (Coutances, Evreux, Lisieux;) another, the young Crassus, conquered Aquitania, although the barbarians had called from Spain the ancient companions of Sertorius.¹ Cæsar himself attacked the Veneti, and other tribes of our Brittany. This amphibious people dwelt neither on sea nor on land; their fortresses, situated in peninsulas, and alternately inundated and left dry again by the tide, could neither be besieged by land nor by sea. The Veneti held a constant intercourse with the other Britain, whence they procured aid. In order to subdue them, it was necessary to be masters of the seas. Nothing disheartened Cæsar. He made vessels and sailors, and taught the latter to fix the ships of Brittany by seizing on them with iron hands and cutting their cordage. He treated this harsh nation harshly; but little Brittany was only to be conquered through great Britain. Cæsar resolved to go over there.

The barbarous world of the west which he had undertaken to subdue, was triple; Gaul, situated between Brittany and Germany, had intercourse with both the one and the other. The Cimbrii were to be found in the three countries; the Helvii and the Boii in Germany and in Gaul; the Parisii and Atrebates also existed in Brittany. In the dissensions of Gaul, the natives of Brittany seem to have been as favourable to the party of the druids as the Germans were to the chiefs. Cæsar aimed a blow at the two parties, both at home and abroad; he crossed the ocean and the Rhine.

¹ Cæsar, iii. 23.

Two great German tribes, the Usipii and the Tencteri, harassed towards the north by the inroads of the Suevi, in the same manner that the Helvetii had been towards the south, had just come over into Gaul. (55.) Cæsar stopped them, and, under the pretext that whilst he was speaking to them he had been attacked by their young men, he fell upon them unawares, and massacred them all. To strike more terror into the Germans, he went to seek those terrible Suevi, near whom no other nation dared to dwell; in ten days he threw a bridge over the Rhine, not far from Cologne, notwithstanding the width and impetuosity of this immense river. After having, in vain, searched the forests of the Suevi, he re-crossed the Rhine, went through all Gaul, and the same year embarked for Britain. When these prodigious marches, more wonderful than victories, and accompanied by such audacity, and such a fearful rapidity, were known in Rome, a cry of admiration arose. Twenty days of supplications to the gods were decreed. "When compared to the exploits of Cæsar," said Cicero,¹ "what has Marius done?"

When Cæsar wished to pass into Great Britain, he could not obtain from the Gauls any intelligence concerning the sacred island. The Æduan Dumnorix declared that religion forbid him to follow Cæsar;² he attempted to escape; but the Roman, who knew his active spirit, gave orders that he should be pursued, and brought back, dead or alive. He was killed whilst defending himself. The ill will of the Gauls was almost fatal to Cæsar during this expedition. In the first place, they allowed him to remain in ignorance of the difficulty there was to effect a landing. The high ships which were used on the ocean drew a great deal of water, and could not approach the shore. The soldiers were compelled to throw themselves into this deep sea, and to arrange themselves in battle array in the midst of the waves. The barbarians who covered the shore had great advantages. But the besieging machines came to their aid, and cleared the shore, by pouring forth stones and darts. In the meanwhile, the equinox was drawing near; and with the full moon came the full tides. In the space of

¹ *De provinc. consularibus.*

² Cæsar, *Bell. Gall.* iv. 3.

one night the Roman fleet was dashed to pieces, or otherwise rendered useless. The barbarians, who, in their first astonishment, had given hostages to Cæsar, endeavoured to take his camp by surprise. Being vigorously repulsed, they again offered to submit to him. Cæsar ordered them to give hostages twice as numerous as those he had received; but his vessels being repaired, he departed the same night, without waiting for their answer. A few days later, the season would scarcely have allowed him to return.

The following year we see him, almost at the same time, in Illyria, at Treves, and in Britain. Only the spirits of our ancient legends have ever travelled thus. This time he was led to Britain by a fugitive chief of the country, who had requested his assistance. He did not retire without having first put the Britons to flight, and besieged king Caswallon in the marshy enclosure where he had gathered together his men and his cattle. He wrote to Rome that he had laid Britain under tribute, and sent large quantities of the pearls of small value which were gathered on the shores.¹

After this invasion of the sacred island, Cæsar had no friends amongst the Gallic people; the necessity of buying Rome at the expense of the Gauls, of satisfying the demands of so many friends to whom he was indebted for his five years' command, had led the conqueror to adopt the most violent measures. According to one historian, he robbed the sacred places, and caused towns to be pillaged, without their having deserved it. Everywhere he established the chiefs devoted to the Romans, and destroyed the popular government. Gaul bought dearly the unity, calm, and cultivation, the blessings of which the Roman domination was to make known to her.

The want of provisions compelling Cæsar to disperse his troops, insurrection broke out in every direction. The Eburones massacred one legion and besieged another. In order to deliver the latter, Cæsar passed with eight thousand men through sixty thousand Gauls. The following year he assembled the states of Gaul at Lutetia. But the Nervi and the Treveri, the Senones, and the Carnutes,

did not come to the meeting. Cæsar attacked them separately, and overwhelmed them all. He crossed the Rhine a second time, in order to terrify the Germans who might have been tempted to come to their aid. He then struck at the same time the two parties which divided Gaul; he terrified the Senones, the druidical and popular party (?), by the death of Acco, their chief, whom he caused to be solemnly tried and put to death; he overwhelmed the Eburones, the friends of the Germans and of the barbarian party, by hunting their intrepid Ambiorix through the forest of Ardennes, and giving them all up to the Gallic tribes who knew better their retreats in the woods and marshes, and who came with cowardly avidity to take their share of the prey. The legions surrounded this unhappy district, on every side, and prevented any from escaping.

These cruelties combined all Gaul against Cæsar. (52.) The druids and the chiefs of the clans agreed, for the first time. Even the Ædui were, in secret at least, against their old friend. The signal came from the druidical country of the Carnutes and from Genabum itself; repeated by the cries of men through fields and villages,¹ it arrived the same evening, at a distance of a hundred and fifty miles, in the land of the Arverni, formerly the enemies of the popular and druidical party, and now its allies. The vercingetorix (commander-in-chief) of the confederacy was a young Arvernian, ardent and intrepid. His father, the most powerful man of Gaul in his time, had been burned, as guilty of aspiring to royalty. The young man, who had inherited his numerous clients, always rejected Cæsar's friendly offers, and never ceased, in the assemblies and religious festivals, to animate his countrymen against the Romans. He armed even the serfs in the country districts, and declared that cowards should be burned alive; minor offences were to be punished by the loss of the two ears, or of one eye.²

The plan of the Gallic general was at once to attack the Province to the south, and the quarters of the legions towards the north. Cæsar, who was in Italy, foresaw and

¹ Cæsar, *Bell. Gall.* vii. 3.

² *Id. ib.* 4.

forestalled everything. He passed the Alps, secured the Province, crossed the Cevennes, through six feet deep of snow, and suddenly appeared in the land of the Arverni. The Gallic chief, who was already on his way to the north, was compelled to turn back; his countrymen wished to defend their families. This was all Cæsar wished for; he left his army, under pretence of raising troops amongst the Allobroges, went up the Rhine and the Saône, and along the frontiers of the Ædui, without making himself known, and joined and rallied his legions. Whilst the vercingetorix thought to bring him back by besieging the Æduan town of Gergovia (Moulins), Cæsar massacred every person in Genabum. The Gauls hastened to him, but it was only to witness the taking of Noviodunum.

The vercingetorix declared to his followers that their only safety lay in starving the Roman army; the only means of accomplishing this was themselves to burn their cities. They heroically accomplished this cruel resolution: twenty cities of the Bituriges were burned by their inhabitants. But when they came to the great Agendicum (Bourges), the inhabitants embraced the knees of the vercingetorix, and begged of him not to destroy the finest city of the Gauls.¹ The granting this request caused their greater misfortune; the town was destroyed all the same, but by Cæsar, who took it by prodigious efforts.

The Ædui had in the meantime declared themselves against Cæsar, who, finding himself without cavalry through their desertion, was compelled to send for Germans, in order to replace them. Labienus, lieutenant of Cæsar, would have been crushed in the north, if he had not freed himself by a victory (between Lutetia and Melun). Cæsar himself failed in the siege of Gergovia of the Arverni. His affairs were in so disastrous a condition, that he wanted to reach the Roman province. The army of the Gauls pursued and reached him; they had sworn not to revisit their houses, their families, their wives, and their children, until they had crossed at least twice, the ranks of the enemy.² The fight was terrible; Cæsar himself was in the midst of it all; he was almost

¹ Cæsar, *Bell. Gall.* vii. 15.

² *Id. ib.* 66.

made prisoner, and his sword remained in the hands of the enemy. However, a movement of the German cavalry, in the service of Cæsar, spread a terror in the ranks of the Gauls, and decided the victory.

These changeable-minded men were so deeply discouraged, that their chief could only inspire them with new assurance by intrenching himself behind the walls of Alesia, a fortified town situated on the summit of a mountain (in the Auxois). Being soon followed by Cæsar, he dismissed his cavalry, commissioned them to report throughout all Gaul that he had provisions for thirty days, and to bring to his aid all who could carry arms. Cæsar did not hesitate to besiege this great army. He surrounded the town and the Gallic camp with prodigious works: first came three ditches, each fifteen or twenty feet wide and deep; then a rampart of twelve feet, eight rows of small ditches, of which the bottom bristled with stakes, and the sides with branches and palisadoes, consisting of five rows of trees, whose branches were entwined. All this was effected in less than five weeks, and by less than sixty thousand men.¹

All Gaul failed in destroying these works. The desperate efforts of the besieged, reduced to a horrible famine, those of two hundred thousand Gauls who attacked the Romans on the side of the country, proved equally useless. It was with despair that the besieged saw their allies, who were attacked from behind by Cæsar's cavalry, fly and disperse. The vercingetorix, who alone remained firm in the midst of the despair of his followers, declared himself to be the author of all the war, and gave himself up as such.² He mounted his war-horse, put on his richest armour, and after having turned in a circle round Cæsar's tribunal, threw down his sword, javelin, and casque at the feet of the Roman, without uttering a single word.

The next year, all the nations of Gaul endeavoured again to resist in detail, and gradually to wear out the strength of the enemy whom they had been unable to conquer. The single town of Uxellodunum (Cap-de-nac in

¹ Cæsar, *Bell. Gall.* vii. 74.

² Dio, xl.

Quercy?) long delayed Cæsar. The example was dangerous; he had no time to lose in Gaul; the civil war might every instant begin anew in Italy; he was lost if compelled to waste whole months before each paltry place. It was then that, in order to terrify the Gauls, he committed an atrocious deed, of which the Romans had, to say the truth, but too frequently given a precedent: he caused the hand of every prisoner to be cut off.

From this time forward (50) he changed his conduct with regard to the Gauls, showed them a great degree of mildness, and spared them in the tributes so far as to create a jealousy in the Province. This tribute was even disguised under the honourable name of *military pay*.¹ He enlisted their best warriors in his legions, no matter at what price; he even composed of them a whole legion, the soldiers of which wore a lark on their casque, and which was for this reason termed the *Alanda*. Under this truly national emblem of morning, vigilance and lively gaiety, these intrepid soldiers sang as they crossed the Alps, and even at Pharsalia pursued with their noisy challenges the taciturn legions of Pompey. The Gallic lark, led by the Roman eagle, took Rome a second time, and shared in the triumphs of civil war. Gaul, as a consolation for the loss of freedom, kept the sword taken from Cæsar in the last war. The Roman soldiers wanted to carry it away from the temple, where the Gauls had hung it up. "Leave it," said Cæsar, with a smile; "it is sacred."

What events had occurred in Rome during Cæsar's long absence? We shall find in this narrative both the explanation of the causes of the civil war and the justification of the conqueror.

Ten years of anarchy, of wretched agitations without any result, had elapsed. It was felt that the seat of power was vacant, and that the republic awaited from Gaul a master and pacificator. A few thousands of freedmen were always in the public square, earning their livelihood by representing the Roman people, and alternately driven away by two or three hundred gladiators of Milo or of Clodius. Whilst praising both Pompey and

¹ Plutarch's *Life of Cæsar*.

Cæsar, Cicero was writing against them,¹ and repeating *ad nauseam* the same hymn in glory of his own consulship, *Catiline and the fires and daggers*. ("You know," he writes to Atticus, "the secret of all this embellishment.") Pompey, just married in his fiftieth year, was lazily waiting in his gardens till Rome should take him for her master out of very weariness, and thought to buy the people with a theatre and five hundred lions.² In the midst of all this might have been noticed, for the amusement of Rome, the cynical stoicism of Cato, Ateius, and Favonius; men of harsh and narrow minds, who would neither act nor let others act; Cato, who, according to the laws of Lycurgus, gave up his wife to the rich Hortensius (*he gave her young and took her back rich*),³ Cato who proposed to the senate to give up to the Germans the conqueror of the Gauls:⁴ whilst the fierce Ateius lit a brazier in the path of Crassus, foretold his defeat in Syria, cursed him, cursed himself, and began, by his murderous imprecations, the defeat of the legions who were to be entirely destroyed by the arrows of the Parthians.

Before Cæsar went to Gaul, a man named Vettius stated that Cicero and Lucullus had solicited him to kill Cæsar and Pompey. Vettius could prove nothing, and was himself killed in prison. What was more certain was, that Cicero was emboldening himself to speak against the two great powers of Rome. In defending his colleague,

¹ Dio, xxxix. 10.—"Cicero, on his return, not daring to speak against Cæsar and Crassus, and yet not being able to remain silent in every shape, wrote a book against them, which he gave sealed up to his son, to be opened only after his death. In his letters to Atticus he deprecates the dependence in which he was placed with reference to Cæsar."

² Dio, xxxix. 38.—Appian, *Bell. Civ.* Val. Max. vi. 2, 145.—"Cneius Piso, accusing Manlius, the friend of Pompey, the latter said to him: 'Why do you not accuse me?' 'Give a guarantee to the republic,' replied Piso, 'that, if I accuse you, you will not excite a civil war, and I will accuse you before Manlius!' The consul Lentulus Marcellinus, speaking against Pompey, was applauded by his audience. 'Ay,' said he, 'applaud, while ye still may.' Pompey, having his knee one day bound with a fillet, 'What matters it,' said Favorinus, 'on what part one wears the diadem?' The actor Diphilus declaiming this verse: 'He is great by our misfortunes,' pointed to Pompey, and the people made him repeat the line several times."

³ Plut. *Life of Cato*.

⁴ Id. *Life of Cæsar*.

Antonius, charged with embezzling the public monies, he had deplored the state to which they had reduced the republic. His words were borne *ad quosdam viros fortes*, and instantly Pompey and Cæsar sent out against him one of their men, full of ardour and eloquence, the young Clodius. They wanted to make a tribune of him. But as he was a patrician, they caused him the same day to be adopted by a plebeian.

Clodius had only too just a cause for accusation. During his consulship, Cicero had, on a vague mandate of the senate, violated the Sempronian law, and put to death Roman citizens.¹ Many people were nevertheless interested in supporting the accused. But it would have been necessary to give a battle in Rome; and he preferred exile to this (58). This success inspired Clodius with so much insolence, that he ceased to spare his masters, Cæsar and Pompey. He more than once caused Pompey to be insulted by the people,² and, it is said, attempted to kill him. Pompey now regretted Cicero, and to have him recalled he employed Milo, a man of violence like Clodius, and fitted to give him battle with his gladiators. Cicero when he came back was henceforth the docile agent of Pompey. Both encouraged Milo against Clodius, and Cicero went so far as to say that "*Clodius was a victim reserved for the sword of Milo.*"³

This language was heard. The two enemies having met on the Appian way, Clodius was wounded; Milo caused him to be pursued and despatched. Pompey, rid of Clodius, no longer wanted Milo, and began to fear him. He caused himself to be named by the senate *sole consul* to re-establish order, designated those among whom the judges of Milo were to be appointed by lot, and surrounded the place with soldiers. Cicero, who had undertaken to defend the accused, was frightened, and did not say much.⁴ Milo exiled himself to Marseilles. (52.)

¹ Cicero, *pro domo Sua*, c. 16.

² Dio, xxxix. 19; Plut. *L. of Pompey*. Perhaps he had attempted to procure his assassination. Cic. *de arusp. resp.* c. 23.

³ Cicero, *ib.* c. 3.

⁴ He admits this himself. *Pro Milone*, c. 1.

Having put together these facts, less important than has been alleged, I will now go back four years.

In the fifth year of Cæsar's command in Gaul, Pompey and Crassus, alarmed at his successes, feared to remain disarmed in the presence of such a man, and obtained, for five years, the one Spain, and the other Syria. But they could not prevent Cæsar from obtaining Gaul for the same length of time. (56.)

Crassus was jealous of the prodigious riches which Gabinius had just brought back from the east. This rapacious man had pillaged Judea and Egypt, and had been bribed by the unworthy Ptolemy Auletes to re-establish him in the latter kingdom; he would willingly have gone to the land of the Parthians to pillage Ctesiphon and Seleucia. The Roman knights, dissatisfied with Gabinius, who had hindered them from robbing in the east in order that he might himself rob, caused him to be accused by Cicero, who was not ashamed to defend him subsequently, at Pompey's request.¹ Crassus obtained Syria, that is to say, the war of the Parthians, which was the object of his ambition. (55-4.)

The Scythian cavalry, which was recruited by the purchase of slaves, like the modern Mamelukes, had encamped on the ancient empire of the Seleucidæ in Upper Asia. Men and horses were barbed with iron; their arms were terrible arrows, dangerous both in the attack and the retreat, when the barbarian horseman, galloping away, let them fly over his shoulder. The empire of the Parthians was closed to strangers, as that of China is to this day.

Notwithstanding the opposition of the tribune Ateius, and the advice of the kings of Galatia and Armenia, old Crassus allowed himself to be led by a traitor into the sterile plain of Charres. There, the heavy legions found themselves surrounded with a cavalry which they could neither avoid nor pursue. The barbarians poured their long arrows upon them; nailed the man to his corslet, and the hand to the shield. The surena (or general), painted

¹ Dio, xxxix. 63.

and perfumed like a woman, gracefully invited Crassus to an interview, and had his head cut off. But for the lieutenant, Cassius, the conquering Parthians would have invaded Syria. (54.)

Crassus being dead, two men remained, Pompey and Cæsar. Pompey had obtained what he had so long sought with hypocritical moderation.

Disorder had risen to such a height, that the senate had ended by intrusting him with the reform of the republic. He began by passing a law, which forbade those who had filled any office in Rome to govern a province before the expiration of five years; yet he himself took possession of Spain. Then, arming himself with a stoical severity, he ordered the prosecution of all those who had acted improperly in the offices during the twenty previous years—a period which embraced the consulate of Cæsar. Milon, Gabinius, Memmius, Sextus, Scaurus, and Hypacus, were successively condemned. Pompey thus struck his enemies, and made all others tremble. But when his father-in-law, Scipio, was brought before him, the inflexible reformer put on a mourning robe, intimidated the judges, and took the accused as his colleague in the consulate.¹ Pompey reigned in Rome; he wished to reign over the empire. To obtain his end, it was necessary to disarm Cæsar. The first step towards this was to deprive him of two legions, under the pretext of carrying on a war with the Parthians. Cæsar demanded to be permitted, although absent, to put himself in the lists for the consulate. The law was against this. Pompey hastened to declare that the law should be derogated in favour of Cæsar; and at the same time, he incited the consul Marcellus to oppose it.² Pompey having obtained Spain and Africa, Cæsar was lost if he did not preserve the Gauls. Cato boldly announced that he would accuse him as soon as he entered Rome.³ However, Cæsar offered to lay

¹ App. *Bell. Civ.*

² Dio, xl. 56.

³ M. Cato having sometimes declared, and that with an oath, that he would prefer an impeachment against him as soon as he disbanded his army. A report likewise prevailed, that if he returned a private person, he would, like Milo, be tried with a guard attending him in court."—Sueton. *L. of Jul. Cæs.* 30.

down his arms if Pompey would do so likewise. Law was for Pompey, equity for Cæsar. He was sustained by the tribunes, Curio and Antony, whom he had bribed. Such was the violence of the Pompeians, of Marcellus, of Lentulus, and of Scipio, that they drove the tribunes from the senate. The magistrates escaped from Rome in the dress of slaves, took refuge in Cæsar's camp, and thus gave to his proceedings the only thing they wanted—legality.

He had law on his side, and he already possessed sufficient force. The army of Cæsar was composed, for the most part, of barbarians; of heavy infantry from Belgica; light infantry from Arvernia and Aquitania; of Rutenian archers, and German, Gallic, and Spanish cavalry; the personal guard of the general, his pretorian cohort, was Spanish. What is related of the ardour of these soldiers, that thirst for danger, that devotion in life and death—all this characterizes the barbarians. Before Marseilles, a single man made himself master of a ship; another, at Dyrrachium, received three wounds, and a hundred and thirty blows on his shield. In Africa, Scipio ordered the massacre of the crew of a vessel, but wished to spare one Granius. *The soldiers of Cæsar*, said he, *are accustomed to give life, not to receive it*; he then cut his own throat. Before the battle of Pharsalia, an old centurion cried: *Cæsar, thou shalt praise me to-day, either dead or alive!* and he rushed into the ranks of the Pompeians; an hundred and twenty soldiers devoted themselves with him. It must be added, that amongst these terrible men, there were some whom Cæsar had saved from the amphitheatre. When the spectators desired the death of a brave gladiator, Cæsar caused him to be removed from the arena. How can we wonder that these people allowed themselves to be killed for him?¹

On Pompey's side there was nothing but weakness and improvidence; grand names and empty titles; the senate and the people, as if there had still been a people; Rome, Cato, Cicero, the consuls. He was asked, what were his military resources: *Do not trouble yourself*, said he; *it*

¹ Suet. *L. of Jul. Cæs.*; Plut. *L. of Jul. Cæs.*; Cæsar, *Bell. Civ.* iii. 14.

will be sufficient for me to stamp the ground with my foot, to make whole legions rise out of it. “Stamp, then,” said Favonius, when it was known that Cæsar had, during the night, passed the Rubicon, the limit of his province, and had taken possession of Ariminum.¹ The celerity of his marches was so well known, that he was believed to be at the gates of Rome. Pompey fled, with the whole of the senate. Lentulus fled, and so quickly, that having opened the public treasury, he did not give himself time to close it again.² Meantime, Cæsar took Corfinium, undoubtedly for the purpose of preventing Pompey from raising troops amongst the Marsi, who were favourable to him.³ He went thence to Brindes; but Pompey did not stop till he reached the other side of the Adriatic.

Cæsar had no ships; and besides, he estimated at their true value the military resources which Pompey might find in the east. The real force of the Pompeians was in Spain; Cæsar hastened there. “Let us go,” said he, “to fight an army without a general; we shall afterwards have to fight a general without an army.” This summed up the whole war in one word. This war with Spain was very trying: Cæsar suffered much from the roughness of the country, from the winter, and, above all, from famine. He was for some time inclosed, as it were, between two rivers; but he himself tells us what gave him the advantage. The Spanish legions had forgotten the Roman tactics, and had not yet learnt those of Spain.⁴ They fled, like the barbarians, but rallied themselves with difficulty. The humanity of Cæsar, compared with the cruelty of Petreius, one of their generals, decided the Pompeians in his favour. They negotiated with him in spite of Petreius.

On his return, Cæsar reduced Marseilles, which remained firm to Pompey’s party. The Greeks, who had always monopolised the commerce with Gaul, were, undoubtedly, jealous of the favour which Cæsar showed towards the Gallic barbarians.⁵

He only remained a short time in Rome, to relieve the

¹ Suet. *ut sup.*

² Cæsar, *ut sup.* i. 4.

³ Cæs. *ut sup.* 5.

⁴ Cæsar, *ut sup.* i. 10.

⁵ *Bello Gall.* i. 35.

debtors, and reinstate the children of the proscribed. Dictator during twelve days, he caused himself to be elected consul for the following year, and then went into Greece. (48.) This was certainly the strongest trial for the fortune of Cæsar. The Pompeians were masters of the sea; they might surprise his little fleet, and without trouble or danger run down these invincible legions. Cæsar divided the danger; he first crossed with half of his troops, then the rest found means to rejoin him.¹

The implacable Bibulus, who had twice allowed himself to be deceived, encountered Cæsar's ships, but after the disembarkation of the troops; he burnt them in his fury, with the sailors who were on board. Some young recruits, suffering from sea-sickness, who also surrendered to the Pompeians, were murdered without pity.

It is curious to see in Cæsar² the prodigious resources of which Pompey disposed. "Pompey, availing himself of a year's repose to collect troops, had assembled from Asia, the Cyclades, Corcyra, Athens, Pontus, Bithynia, Syria, Phœnicia, Cilicia, and Egypt, a numerous fleet. He had many new ships built at all the ports; he had exacted considerable contributions from Asia, Syria, from all kings, princes, and tetrarchs, and from the free peoples of Achaia; he had obtained large sums from the companies (of farmers of customs) in the provinces of which he was master.

"He had got together nine legions of Roman citizens; five from Italy, one of veterans from Sicily, called the Twins, because it was formed of two; one from Macedonia and Crete, composed of veterans who had settled in those districts after having obtained their discharge; and two levied in Asia by Lentulus. Moreover, he had distributed in his legions many recruits from Thessaly, Bœotia, Achaia, and Epirus; and with them many of the old soldiers of C. Antonius. Then he daily expected the

¹ Cæsar, finding that the rest of his troops did not arrive, departed in a small barque, in search of them. It was then that, according to the story, he said to the intimidated pilot: "*Quid times? Cæsarem vehis et fortunas?*" The phrase is a sounding one, but the anecdote very doubtful.

² *Bello Civ.* iii. 11.

arrival from Syria of Scipio with two other legions. He had besides, three thousand archers of Crete, Lacedæmonia, Pontus, Syria, &c., two cohorts of slingers, each six hundred strong, and seven thousand cavalry, of whom six hundred were Gauls, commanded by Deiotarus; five hundred Cappadocians, under Ariobarzanes; five hundred Thracians, sent by Cotys, under the command of his son Sadales; two hundred Macedonians of distinguished valour, led by Rhaseipolis; five hundred Gauls or Germans, whom the younger Pompey had brought by sea from Alexandria, where Gabinius had left them as a guard for king Ptolemy; a body of eight hundred horse, composed of his own slaves or shepherds. Tarcundarius Castor and Donilaus had furnished three hundred Galatians; the former commanded his contingent, the latter had sent his son. Antiochus of Comagena, whom Pompey had laden with benefits, sent him from Syria two hundred horse, most of them archers. To these, Pompey had added Dardanians, Bessians, part of them mercenaries, part volunteers, Macedonians, Thessalians and troops of various other countries; in all amounting to the number stated above.

“He had collected much corn from Thessaly, Asia, Egypt, Crete, Cyrenaica, and other countries, proposing to pass the winter at Dyrrachium, Apollonia, and the various ports, in order to prevent Cæsar from passing the seas. He had consequently distributed his fleet along the whole coast. The Egyptian ships were commanded by his son; those of Asia by D. Lælius and C. Triarius; those of Syria by C. Cassius; those of Rhodes by C. Marcellus and C. Coponius; those of Liburnia and Achaia by Scribonius Libo, and M. Octavius. M. Bibulus was commander-in-chief.”

Cæsar, having succeeded in crossing, in spite of Bibulus, undertook to besiege Pompey near Dyrrachium; to besiege an army more numerous than his own, and supplied with provisions by means of the sea, he must greatly have despised his enemies. But he had not considered the difficulty he should find in providing for his followers, in a country where everything was against him. The siege continuing, they were obliged to make bread with grass; but they were not discouraged. They threw

some of this bread into the camp of the Pompeians, to show them what food the soldiers of Cæsar had learned to eat. "We will eat the bark of the trees," said they, "rather than allow Pompey to escape us." The noble Roman youth who had come to end the war quickly by a glorious victory, were horrified at these savages.

However, the northern stomachs are exacting and voracious; the Gauls belonging to Cæsar soon found themselves reduced to an extreme weakness. The Pompeians, in a sally, pursued them to their camp, and would have conquered them if Pompey had availed himself of his good fortune. Cæsar did not wait for another trial. He decamped, and set out for Thessaly and Macedonia, where, at least, he should not be at a loss for subsistence. Many counselled Pompey to re-enter Italy, to retake Spain, and thus to recover the most warlike provinces in the empire.

But how could he abandon the eastern world to the pillage of the barbarians? How betray so many allies? The Roman knights would be ruined, if Cæsar ravaged Greece and Asia. And then Pompey could not decide on leaving in Macedonia, Scipio, the father of the young and beautiful Cornelia, his new wife.¹

In an army so nobly composed, in which there were so many ex-consuls, senators, and knights, the general had under him I know not how many generals. When they believed that Cæsar had fled, they seriously accused Pompey of not wishing to conquer him. Domitius asked how long the new Agamemnon, the king of kings, intended the war to last. Cicero and Favonius advised their friends to renounce, for this year, eating the figs of Tusculum. Afranius, who was accused of having sold Spain to Cæsar, was astonished that Pompey avoided entering into competition with this merchant, who only understood trafficking in provinces.

But the most confident, the most insolent of all, was Labienus, who had been Cæsar's lieutenant in Gaul, and had gone over to the side of Pompey. He had solemnly sworn not to lay down arms till he had conquered his old general. He obtained the gratification of his

¹ Appian, *Bello Civ.*

desire that the prisoners taken at Dyrrachium should be delivered to him, looked at them, one by one, saying: "What! my old companions, veterans, have then learned the habit of running away?" and ordered them all to be put to death. In an interview with the Cæsarians, he said to them: "We will grant you peace when you bring us Cæsar's head."¹

The friends of Pompey were so sure of victory, that they had already disputed about the consulates and prætorships. Some of them sent to Rome to secure houses near the public square, in sight of the people, and well situated for the solicitation of office. One single thing embarrassed them: it was, to know who should hold the office of high priest with which Cæsar was invested. Spinther and Domitius were well supported; but Seipio was father-in-law to Pompey; he had the best chance. Whilst waiting, they had, on the eve of the battle, prepared a grand feast. The tents were strewed with leaves, and the tables laid.²

Thus, then, at Pharsalia, it was not Cæsar who attacked, but the Pompeians. He intended turning towards Macedonia; he might escape them. Happily, Pompey was strong in cavalry; he had about seven thousand Roman knights; this superb troop, which was placed at the right wing, took upon itself to inclose Cæsar by a rapid movement, and to cut in pieces the famous tenth legion. Cæsar, who expected this manœuvre, had placed at the back six cohorts, which were, at the moment of the charge, to enter the first rank, and instead of darting the pilum, to present its point to this brilliant cavalry. Cæsar only said one word to his soldiers: "Soldiers, strike in the face."³ It was exactly there that the Roman youths feared most to be wounded. They preferred being dishonoured to being disfigured, and fled.

Cæsar ordered those soldiers who were in the centre to run with loud cries towards the enemy.⁴ He who gave such an order understood wonderfully the genius of the barbarians whom he led. Pompey did not wait the issue of the combat. When he saw his cavalry taking flight,

¹ Cæsar, *Bello Civ.* iii. 5.

² *Bello Civ.*

³ *Id. ib.* 16.

⁴ *Id. ib.*

he re-entered his camp as if struck with stupor. He was only drawn from this state by the cries of those who soon came to attack his intrenchments. He then fled towards the sea, and embarked for Lesbos, where he had left his wife. Some people counselled him to retire to Parthia. It is said that he feared for his young wife the outrages of the barbarians, who respected nothing.¹ He preferred seeking an asylum with the young king of Egypt, Ptolemy Dionysos, to whom he had been appointed guardian. The Grecian preceptors who reigned in the name of the little prince, felt that their authority would cease if Pompey set foot in Egypt, they therefore ordered him to be murdered in the bark which was bringing him to the shore.

Meanwhile, Cæsar had achieved his conquest. As soon as it was decided, he ran through the battle-field, crying: "Save the Roman citizens." When Brutus and the other senators were brought to him, he assured them of his friendship. He afterwards traversed the field of battle, and said with grief at seeing all the dead: "They would have it! If I had laid down arms, I had been lost."²

Thence he went into Asia, and relieved the country of a third of the taxes. When he arrived at Alexandria, the orator who had advised the death of Pompey, came and laid his head at the feet of the conqueror. Cæsar was horrified, and shed some tears. The counsellors of the king of Egypt had hoped that Cæsar would be grateful to them for their crime, and would confirm their pupil on the throne, which his eldest sister Cleopatra disputed with him. Cæsar secretly sent to the young queen to return. She immediately set out, of all her friends only taking with her Apollodorus of Sicily; she threw herself into a little boat, arrived in the night before Alexandria, and not

¹ Appian, *Bello Civ.*

² According to Dio, Cæsar put to death the knights and senators whom, in the first instance, he had pardoned, with the sole exception, that to each of his friends he granted the life of a Pompeian. (xli. 62.) Elsewhere, this historian states that Cæsar got rid, in his various battles, of those of his own officers whom he did not like. (xliii.) Yet Dio speaks of the temple in Cæsar's honour, raised to Clemency. Melonius tells us that he only put to death the young L. Cæsar, and two other persons, who had killed his freedmen, his slaves, and his lions.

knowing how to enter the city without being recognised, she put herself into a bundle of clothes, which Apollodore carried upon his shoulders through the gates of the palace.¹

This audacious trick pleased Cæsar. In the morning he sent for the young king to reconcile him to Cleopatra. But when Ptolemy saw his sister, whom he believed to be far distant, he cried out that he was betrayed.² His clamours roused the people of the palace, and soon all Alexandria. Cæsar found himself in the greatest danger; almost alone in the middle of an immense town, of an innumerable populace, changeable as Greece, and barbarous as Egypt, which was accustomed to set up and to overthrow its masters in its capricious revolutions. This capital of the East, as rich and populous as Rome, was not less proud. The Alexandrians had already been displeased that Cæsar entered Rome with lictors and fasces; "This," said they, "tended to eclipse the majesty of the great king of Egypt."³ Again, the populace was excited by the counsellors of the king, who saw their reign at an end, and who would have been well pleased to rid themselves of the conquerors, as they had of the conquered. The only means of appeasing the people would have been by giving up Cleopatra. Cæsar sustained a siege rather than be guilty of such an act of baseness. The Alexandrians wished to take possession of his fleet, which was in their port; he burned it. The fire extended from the arsenal to the palace, and consumed the great library of the Ptolemys. At last Cæsar found means to reach the Isle of Pharos, received help by the sea, and re-entered Alexandria as conqueror; he divided the throne of Egypt between Cleopatra and her youngest brother, Ptolemy Neoterus. The other Ptolemy had perished.

Cæsar has been deeply reproached for having made so long a stay in Egypt; but he tells us that he was detained there some time by the Etesian winds.⁴ As to the heroic imprudence of coming himself to give laws to a great kingdom, we must remember, that Cæsar counted upon the ascendancy of his name, and he had a right to count upon it. But just before, passing from Europe to Asia

¹ Diod. xlii. 325.

² Id. *ib.*

³ Id. *ib.*

⁴ Cæsar, *Bello Civ.* iii.

in a single vessel, he had met an immense fleet of the enemy commanded by Cassius; he ordered it to surrender, and was obeyed.¹ Who could imagine that these Nile-flies would dare to attack the conqueror of the Gauls?

Before returning to the West (47), and pursuing the Pompeians there, he went into Asia, and defeated Pharnaces, son of Mithridates, who had beaten some Roman troops, and invaded Cappadocia and Bithynia. The facility with which he terminated this war made him exclaim: "Happy Pompey, to have become great at so cheap a rate!" He wrote these three words to Rome: *Veni, vidi, vici*. After having destroyed Pompey, he destroyed also his glory.

Italy greatly needed the return of Cæsar. His lieutenant, Antony, and the tribune Dolabella, had convulsed Rome, in his absence; like the lieutenants of Alexander, in Macedonia and at Babylon, during the expedition to India, these men seemed to believe that their master would never return from such a distance; on the other hand, the soldiers mutinied and killed their officers. Knowing that they were needed to fight the Pompeians in Africa, they thought they could obtain all they asked for.² Cæsar overwhelmed them with a single word: "Citizens," said he, and they were at once cast down at being no longer addressed as soldiers; "citizens, you have had sufficient fatigue and wounds; I release you from your oaths. Those who have served their time shall be paid to the last sesterce." They intreated him to allow them to remain with him. He was inflexible. He gave them lands, but distant from each other;³ paid them a part of the money he had promised them, and undertook to discharge the remainder with interest. There was not one who would not have persisted in following him.

The Pompeians had assembled in Africa under Scipio, the father-in-law of Pompey. The Scipios, it was said, would always conquer in Africa. Cæsar accordingly announced that a Scipio should also command his army. He declared that he gave up the command to a Scipio Sallutio, a poor soldier of his, obscure, and altogether

¹ Plut. *L. of Cæsar*.

² Dio, xlii. 386.

³ *Id. ib.*

despised. The other Scipio, to whom Cato had persisted in assigning the command, from an absurd scruple, had interested in his cause the Mauritanian Juba, by promising him the whole of Africa.¹ This alliance gave him all the Numidians, and, with their cavalry, the means of starving Cæsar's army. The affairs of the latter were assuming an ill aspect, when Scipio saved him by offering him battle. Cæsar, by a rapid march, separately attacked the three camps of the Pompeians, and destroyed fifty thousand men without losing fifty of his own soldiers.

Cato had remained at Utica to keep in check a town hostile to the Pompeians, and whose inhabitants, but for him, Scipio would have murdered. The Italian merchants of Utica did not choose to risk the slaves who constituted their riches, by arming them to defend the town. Cato, seeing that there were no means of resistance, sent away the senators who were with him, and resolved to kill himself. After taking a bath and his supper, he held a long conference with his Greeks, who never quitted him; he then withdrew, read in his bed the dialogue of Plato upon the Immortality of the Soul, and sought his sword; not finding it at the head of his bed, he called a slave, and asked for it. The slave made no reply, and Cato went on reading, ordering it to be brought. When he had finished, he called all his slaves, one after the other; enraged at their silence, he exclaimed: "Would you, then, give me up?" and he struck one of them so violently in the face that he wounded his own hand. Thereupon his sons and his friends, bursting into tears, sent him his sword by a child. "I am now master of myself," said he. He re-read the *Phædo* twice, and again slept, and so soundly that the people in the next chamber heard him snore. Towards midnight, he sent to the sea shore, to satisfy himself as to the departure of his friends, and sighed deeply on hearing that the sea was stormy. "When the birds began to sing," says Plutarch, he slept again. After some time, he arose, and ran his sword into his body. His hand was swollen with the blow he had given his slave, and his strength failed him.² His people ran in, at

¹ Dio, xliii. 344.

² Plut. *Life of Cato*.

the sound of his fall, and saw with horror his entrails protruding from his body. He was still alive, however, and looked fixedly at them. His physician bound up the wound, but as soon as he came to himself, he tore off the bandages, and immediately expired.

The ancient republic seemed to expire with him. The return of Cæsar to Rome was the real foundation of the empire. We will place together here all the features of this great picture, although, in exact chronology, several of the facts should be placed sooner, or later.

The victory of Cæsar bore all the character of an invasion of barbarians into Rome and into the senate. In the commencement of the civil war, he had given the right of the city to all the Gauls between the Alps and the Po,¹ and he raised to the rank of senators a whole host of Gaulish centurions in his army, and even several soldiers and freed men. The conquerors of Pharsalia came to stammer out Latin by the side of Cicero. A bitter pasquinade against the new *Patres Conscripti* was fixed up in Rome: *The public are requested not to show the senators the way to the senate.* There went a sort of song, too, about: *Cæsar led the Gauls behind his car, but it was to conduct them to the senate; they left the Celtic dress to adopt the laticlavium.*²

It was not at all astonishing that this semi-barbarous senate should heap upon Cæsar every power and every title: the power of trying the Pompeians;³ the right of peace and war; the right of distributing the provinces amongst the prætors (except the consular provinces); the tribunate, and the dictatorship for life; that is to say, absolute dominion and *the protection of the people.* The multiplicity and degradation of magistrates further augmented his powers; there were sixteen prætors, forty quæstors. He was proclaimed the *father of the country*, as if such men had any other country than the world: *liberator*, not of Rome, doubtless, but rather of the barbarian world, Egyptian or Gaulish. His sons (he never had, and could now scarcely expect any) were declared *imperatores*; as to himself, after Pharsalia, he had been called a demi-god; after

¹ Dio, xli. 36. ² Sueton. *Life of Cæsar.* Dio, xliii. 317, n. 20, &c.

his victories in Africa, he became a god altogether, and his statue was placed in the temple of Mars. As to his being made a god, no one was scandalized at this: the thing was not unprecedented; but men were somewhat surprised to see him named prefect and reformer of manners. This reformer of manners had, in his own palace, under the very eye of his legitimate wife Calpurnia, the young Cleopatra and her husband, the little king of Egypt, and Cesarion, the child whom Cæsar himself had perhaps had by her.

The triumph of Cæsar was a spectacle at once wonderful and terrible. He triumphed for the Gauls, for Egypt, for Pontus, and for Africa. Pharsalia was no longer mentioned. Behind his car walked, side by side, the deplorable representatives of the East and of the West: the Gaulish vercingetorix, the sister of Cleopatra, Arsinoë, and the son of king Juba. Around, according to custom, the soldiers, the daring companions of the conqueror, sang at the pitch of their voices, verses insulting him:¹

“Do well, thou shalt be beaten;
Do ill, thou shalt be king:
Romans, of your wives take heed,
A bald gallant we bring.”

With the exception of a bitter couplet about an alleged amour with Nicomedes, Cæsar did not object to these rude saturnalia of victory. They broke the wearisome uniformity of adulation, and relieved him of his divinity.² His first proceeding on his arrival was to give to each citizen, corn and three hundred sesterces; to each soldier, twenty thousand sesterces. He next entertained them all, people and soldiers, on twenty-three thousand tables, with three beds each, each bed accommodating several guests. And when the multitude was satiated with wine and meat, they were gorged with shows and combats; combats of gladiators and captives, combats on foot and on horseback, combats of elephants, a naval combat in the Campus

¹ Dion. xliii. 354. Suet. *in Vitâ*.

² Cæsar was so incensed at the latter accusation, that he offered to deny its truth upon oath. The soldiers laughed heartily, and accepted his simple denial.—Dio, xliii. 354.

Martius, converted into a lake for the occasion. This representation of war was as sanguinary as war itself. Rome was compensated for not having witnessed the massacres of Thapsus and Pharsalia. A frantie joy took possession of the people. The knights descended into the arena and fought as gladiators; the son of a prætor became a mirmillo. A senator would have fought, had Cæsar allowed him. But it was necessary to leave some new outrage for the time of Domitian and Commodus.

Above the massacres of the amphitheatre, floated, for the first time, the immense *velarium* of a thousand colours, vast and moving as the people it protected from the sun. This *velarium* was of silk,¹ of that precious tissue of which a pound was worth its weight in gold.

In the evening, Cæsar traversed Rome amid forty elephants which bore vast candelabras glittering with rock crystal.² He attended the fêtes and the farees of the theatre. He forced the aged Laberius, a Roman knight, to become a *mime*, and himself to play his own pieces. "Alas!" exclaimed, in the prologue, the poor old man, compelled to amuse the people, "to what has necessity driven me, well-nigh at my last day? After sixty years of my honourable life, I leave my house a knight, and shall return to it a *mime*. O! I have lived a day too long!" Cæsar had only desired to degrade him. He refused him the prize; Laberius was not even the first of buffoons.³

¹ Id. *ib.*

² Suet. in *Vitâ*.

³ As to Laberius' production itself, Cæsar's judgment was probably correct. We know how exquisite was Cæsar's taste. I append two fragments of his poems; the second appears to be an impromptu thrown off in one of his rapid journeys:

"Tu quoque; tu summis, ô dimidiate Menander,
Poneris, et merito, puri sermonis amator,
Lenibus atque utinam verbis conjuncta foret vis
Comica, ut æquato virtus polleret honore
Cum græcis, neque in hac despectus parte jaceres.
Unum hoc maceror, et doleo tibi deesse, Terenti."

Suetonius, in *Vitâ Terentii*.

"Feltria, perpetuo nivium damnata rigori,
Forte mihi post hac non adeunda, vale."

Scrivenerius ex Membranis.

Cæsar's *de Analogiâ* was divided into two books, and addressed to

He was a bold man to protest, thus alone, amidst these great Saturnalia, this universal levelling, commencing with the Empire! The honour of a knight was truly a matter of vast importance in this general convulsion of the world.

“Aspice nutantem convexo pondere mundum,
Terrasque tractusque maris cælumque profundum;
Aspice venturo lætentur ut omnia sæclo!”

Is not all transformed? Are not the ancient ages at an end? Are not time and heaven itself changed by this edict of Cæsar? The immutable Pomœrium of Rome has drawn back: climates are conquered; nature subjected; the African giraffe walks the streets of Rome with the Indian elephant, under the canopy of a moving forest; ships combat on land. Who will dare gainsay the man to whom nature and humanity have refused nothing—who himself never refused aught to any one, his powerful friendship, his money, or even his honour? But for that broad bald forehead, that *falcon eye*, would you recognise the conqueror of Gaul in that old courtier, holding his triumphs in slippers and crowned with all sorts of flowers?¹ Come then, come all, come with a good grace, and sing, declaim, combat, die, in this bacchanalia of the human race, which whirls round the head of the founder of the empire. Life and death, it is all one; the gladiator may console himself when he looks at the spectators. Already the vercingetorix of Gaul has been strangled, the evening after the triumph. How many others, amongst those now present, will soon die too? See you not, at Cæsar's side, that graceful viper of the Nile, dragging disdainfully after her, her husband of ten

Cicero. The ancients often mention it. See Cicero, *Brutus*, c. 72; Suetonius, *in Cæs.* c. 56; Aulus Gellius, i. 10, 7, c. 9; Charis, i. In it he treated of verbs, declensions, even of the letters of the alphabet; he insisted that it should be *mordeo*, *memordi*, *not momordi*; *pungo*, *pepugi*; *spondeo*, *spepondi*; *turbo*, *turbonis*, *not turbinis*; that the V should be made like a reversed J, because it had the force of the Roman digamma: he recommends his readers to avoid all new words as they would a rock at sea.—Macrob. ii.

¹ Suetonius, *in Titâ*; Dio, xlii.

years old, whom she will also destroy?—he is her vercinetorix. On the other side of the dictator, perceive you the haggard face of Cassius, the narrow skull of Brutus, both so pale, in their white robes, bordered with blood-red?¹

Amidst this triumph, Cæsar well knew that the war was not ended; Spain was Pompeian. Pompey had aspired to do for her what Cæsar accomplished for Gaul; he had given the right of the city to a crowd of Spaniards;² but the less tractable genius of Spain made so warlike a people an uncertain and insecure instrument of war. But the sons of Pompey found favour there; the Spaniards were probably jealous of the Gauls, who, under Cæsar, had gained so much glory and money in the civil war. Perhaps, too, old animosities of tribe and town animated them against the Spaniards who served in the ranks of Cæsar, against those who composed his guard, against that Cornelius Balbus, a Spanish-African of Cadiz, who had received the freedom of the city from Pompey, and who had now become the principal councillor of his rival.³

Cæsar went in twenty-seven days from Rome to Spain (45); he found the whole country against him. As in Greece, as in Africa, he had to fight or starve; the Spaniards were equally eager to combat this Cæsar, this friend of the Gauls, who thought to subdue Spain in one winter. The armies met at Munda (near Cordova). But this time Cæsar did not recognise his veterans; some were old soldiers who, for fifteen years, had followed him, in the murderous celerity of his marches, from the Alps to Britain, from the Rhine to the Ebro, from Pharsalia to Pontus, and from Rome to Africa, and all for twenty thousand sesterces; and now the ascendancy of this invincible man had decided them upon again dragging their weary bones to the extreme shores of the west. The others, who formerly, under the badge of the lark, had gaily passed the Alps, eager for the fine wars of the south, and thinking, sooner or later, to pillage Rome, these, though younger, began to feel weary, and here were they brought against these African tigers, thirsting for Gaulish blood.

¹ Plut. *Life of Cæsar*.

² Plutarch, *Life of Pompey*.

³ Cicero, *pro Corn. Balbo*.

The orders and entreaties of Cæsar failed before these obstacles; the troops remained silent and immovable; it was to no purpose he raised his hands to Heaven. He at one moment thought of stabbing himself before their eyes; but at last, seizing a shield, he cried to the tribunes of the legions: "I will die here," and he rushed within ten paces of the Spanish ranks. Two hundred arrows flew against him. It became impossible to defer the combat. Tribunes and soldiers followed him; but the battle lasted the whole day. The Spaniards did not give way until the evening, when there was brought to Cæsar the head of Labienus, and that of one of the sons of Pompey. The exhausted conquerors encamped behind an intrenchment of dead bodies.¹

The return to Rome was sad and mournful. The conquered beheld the commencement of a hopeless servitude. The conquerors themselves had lost their taste for civil war. Cæsar felt that he was hated, and became sterner and more rugged. For the first time, he felt no hesitation in triumphing over citizens—over the sons of Pompey. He despised Rome, and determined to break her haughty spirit.² He accepted the odious honours heaped upon him by the base and perfidious policy of the senate, the golden chair, the golden crown, a statue beside those of the kings between Tarquinius Superbus and old Brutus, and the mournful privilege of being interred in the sacred inclosure of the pomœrium, where no tomb had ever yet been placed.³ Such a man could not fail to perceive the sinister intention of these decrees. But, after all, what mattered it to him?⁴ Woe to the murderers! The peace of the world depended on Cæsar's life! and who would have the heart to kill him who had so often pardoned. He sent away his guard; his future guard was Clemency to whom they had just raised a temple; and un-

¹ Appian, *Bell. Civ.*; Florus, iv. 2.

² Florus, iv. 2.

³ Suetonius, 52, and Dio, xlv. 386, pretend that the senate had accorded him, or was about to accord him, the preposterous right to enjoy whatsoever woman he pleased. This was doubtless one of the absurd rumours propagated by those who were plotting against Cæsar.

⁴ Dio, xlv. 386; Suetonius, in *Vita*.

armed, without a cuirass, he walked about Rome, in the midst of his mortal enemies.

That vast mind had far other thoughts than that of taking care of his life. It aimed at completing the great work of Rome; at combining its laws into one code, and of imposing that code upon all nations. He projected a temple in the centre of the Campus Martius; an amphitheatre at the foot of the Tarpeian rock, a port at Ostia; gigantic monuments, capable of receiving the deputies of the whole world. An immense library was to concentrate the entire result of human thought. The ancient injustice of Rome was expiated; Capua, Corinth, and Carthage, were rebuilt by the order of Cæsar. He contemplated cutting through the isthmus of Corinth, and thus joining the two seas. During the African war, he had seen in a dream a great army, weeping and calling upon him, and on awaking, he had written on his tablets: Corinth and Carthage.

But the West was too limited for him. Our own Cæsar of France said: "One can only work on a great scale in the East." Cæsar yearned to penetrate into the mute and mysterious world of Upper Asia, to quell the Parthians, and renew the conquest of Alexander. Then, recommencing the antique migrations of the human race, he would return by Caucasus, Scythia, Dacia, and Germany, which he would subdue on his way. Thus the Roman empire, limited by the ocean, and embracing all polished and all barbarian nations, would have nothing to fear from without, and would not unjustly be called the universal and eternal empire.

In the midst of these thoughts, he was arrested by death. The occasion of the conspiracy was slight. The audacious and cruel Cassius was offended with Cæsar for having refused him the higher class prætorship, and for having taken from him some lions he kept.¹ These lions of the amphitheatre were the cherished playthings of the Roman grandees; the Greeks, sophists, poets, rhetoricians, and parasites, were only next in favour. "Alas!" exclaimed the envious Juvenal, "and a poet

¹ Appian, *Punic War*; Dio, xliii. 50.

eats less than they." In the civil war, Cæsar forgave everybody, except a man who had wantonly killed his lions.

Cassius needed an honest man in his party. He went to see Brutus, the nephew and son-in-law of Cato. Brutus does not appear to have had a very gifted mind; his was an ardent soul, elevated with stoicism, but the spring was at its utmost bent. Hence a certain ruggedness, a something strange and eccentric, a fierce yearning for effort, for painful sacrifices. Pompey had murdered the father of Brutus, and the latter had never spoken to him. Cæsar loved Brutus, and perhaps believed himself his father; after the battle of Pharsalia, he had him sought for with great solicitude, and confided to him the most important province of the empire, Cisalpine Gaul. Cassius competing for an office with Brutus, they both set forth their claims. Cæsar said: "Cassius has the better title, but Brutus must have the place." These motives, which should have attached Brutus to Cæsar, disquieted, tortured his morbidly austere virtue; he feared least, despite himself, he should prefer a man to the republic. At each benefit he received from Cæsar, he was apprehensive of becoming attached to him, and armed himself with ingratitude.

They who sought to drive Brutus to violent measures, neglected no means of tormenting that soul, so diseased with scruples and indecision. He everywhere found anonymous letters, upon the tribunal where he sat as prætor, upon the statue of the Brutus who had expelled the kings. He read there: "Thou sleepest, Brutus; no, thou art not Brutus." Even the cautious friend of the cautious Cicero, the cold and selfish Atticus, fabricated a genealogy, in which he made him descend by his father from the antique Brutus, and by his mother Servilia from Servilius Ahala, who killed Spurius Melius when he became suspected of aspiring to tyranny.¹

That which decided Brutus was a rumour that Cæsar designed to assume the name of king. But for the unanimous testimony of historians, I should altogether doubt that the master of Rome ever desired this title of *rex*, so

¹ Plut. *Life of Brutus*.

lavishly bestowed as to be despised, which every client gave to his patron, every guest to his amphitryon. In decreeing to him the absolute power, and even hereditary power, the senate had given him the only royalty that a sensible man could have desired at Rome. I am fully disposed to believe that this odious report was spread about by the enemies of Cæsar, and that his friends, not suspecting anything, adopted the idea with enthusiasm, not knowing, in fact, what other title to give him; and that both parties persecuted him with this perilous honour, crowning his statues at night, and offering to himself the name of king and the royal diadem.

One day, as he entered Rome, some citizens hailed him king. "I am not called king," said he; "my name is Cæsar."¹ Another day, on the festival of the Lupercalia, all the young men, and at their head Antony, then consul elect, were rushing naked through the streets, striking the women right and left. Cæsar, seated in the tribunal, watched the sacred sports, clothed in his triumphal robe. Antony approached, caused himself to be raised to the level of the tribunal,² and presented to Cæsar a diadem; he rejected it twice, but, it is said, not very decidedly. The whole square echoed with acclamations. In the morning, the statues of the dictator were found crowned with diadems. The tribunes went solemnly to remove them. They prosecuted those who had saluted Cæsar with the title of *king*; so greatly had his moderation emboldened the conquered. It then became the question, whether Pharsalia had been a vain game; whether the conqueror was to be a dupe; whether ancient anarchy was to be renewed; as for the republic, it no longer existed, except in history: Cæsar dismissed the tribunes; this was the commencement of monarchy.

The senators would, perhaps, have resigned themselves to this; but a personal insult drove them to take vengeance on Cæsar. When the senate came to bring him the decree which raised him above humanity, but was meant to bring about his downfall, he did not rise from his chair, and said they would have done better to diminish his honours than

¹ Dio, xliv.; Plut. *Life of Cæsar*.

² Plut. *Life of Antony*.

to augment them. Some say that, on the arrival of the senate, the Spaniard Balbus counselled him to remain seated; others, that the god was on this occasion suffering from a dysentery, and dared not rise.¹

However this may be, the senators, perfectly furious, plotted his death. A name so pure as that of Brutus gave an authority to the conspiracy. Those even on whom Cæsar had bestowed provinces—Brutus and Decimus Brutus, Cassius, Casca, Cimber, Trebonius—did not hesitate to join it. Ligarius, whom Cæsar had just pardoned, at the intercession of Cicero, quitted his bed, to which he had been confined by illness. Porcia, the wife of Brutus and daughter of Cato, had divined the project of Brutus from his uneasy and agitated demeanour. But before demanding to share his secret, she inflicted a deep wound in her thigh, in order to assure herself of her courage, and so to be prepared to die, should her husband perish.

Meantime, prodigies and warnings were not wanting to Cæsar, had he chosen to heed them. Men spoke of celestial fires and nocturnal sounds, of the apparition of funereal birds in the middle of the Forum. One night, whilst he slept beside his wife, the doors and windows opened spontaneously, and, at the same time, Calpurnia dreamed that she held him murdered in her arms. He was also informed that the horses which he had let loose at the Rubicon, and which he had kept at pasture, would not eat, and shed tears.² A diviner had warned him to beware of the ides of March. Cæsar preferred to believe nothing. He was told to distrust Brutus; he touched himself, and said: "Brutus will wait the end of this wretched body."³ The day of the ides, his wife used so many intreaties that he determined to postpone the assembling of the senate. He had already sent Antony thither, when Decimus Brutus reproached him with yielding to a woman's whim, and led him away by the hand.

¹ Dio, xliv. 386; Plut. *Life of Cæsar*.

² Suetonius, 81.

³ Cæsar received the tribute, in common with Alexander, of being lamented by all nations. He was especially so by the Jews.—Suet. in *Vita*, 84.

“The senate was already seated, and the conspirators got close about Cæsar’s chair, under pretence of preferring a suit to him. Cassius turned his face to Pompey’s statue, and invoked it, as if it had been sensible of his prayers. Trebonius kept Antony in conversation without the court. And now Cæsar entered, and the whole senate rose to salute him. The conspirators crowded around him, and set Tullius Cimber, one of their number, to solicit the recal of his brother, who was banished. They all united in the solicitation, took hold of Cæsar’s hand, and kissed his head and his breast. He rejected their applications, and, finding that they would not desist, at length rose from his seat in anger. Tullius, upon this, laid hold of his robe, and pulled it from his shoulders. Casca, who stood behind, gave him the first, though but a slight wound with his dagger, near the shoulder. Cæsar caught the handle of the dagger, and said in Latin, “Villain! Casca! What dost thou mean!” Casca, in the Greek, called his brother to his assistance. Cæsar was wounded by numbers almost at the same instant, and looked round him for some way to escape; but when he saw the dagger of Brutus pointed against him, he let go Casca’s hand, and, covering his head with his robe, resigned himself to their swords. The conspirators pressed so eagerly to stab him, that they wounded each other. Brutus, in attempting to have his share in the sacrifice, received a wound in his hand, and all of them were covered with blood.”¹

CHAPTER VI.

Cæsar avenged by Octavius and Antony—Victory of Octavius over Antony, of the West over the East, 44-31.

THE conspirators thought that twenty poniard stabs had sufficiently killed Cæsar. Yet never was Cæsar more alive, more powerful, more terrible than when his old

¹ Plutarch, *Life of Brutus*.

and worn-out body, his withered corpse, lay pierced with blows; he appeared then, purified, redeemed, that which he had been despite his many stains, the man of humanity.¹ An actor having pronounced in the theatre this verse of a tragedy—

“Men’, men’, servasse, ut essent qui me perderent”²—

every eye was filled with tears, and a storm of sobs and cries burst forth. It was still worse when Antony exhibited the poor body in its bloody robe; when the people learned that in his will Cæsar had named Decimus Brutus guardian of his adopted son, that most of the murderers were his heirs.³ He had, moreover, destined for them the best provinces of the empire; to Decimus, Cisalpine Gaul; to the other Brutus, Macedonia; to Cassius, Syria; Asia, to Trebonius; and Bithynia to Cimber. The indignation of the people was so violent, that they took the brands from the funeral pile to burn down the houses of the assassins.

Antony proclaiming himself the avenger of Cæsar, it was soon necessary that the conspirators should quit Rome and withdraw to the East, to recommence the war of Pharsalia. And now, who was this Antony who was to succeed Cæsar?

Cæsar’s first soldier, but still a soldier, and a barbarian soldier. A descendant of Hercules, as he said, and strong as Hercules; always wearing a large sword and a thick cloth garment such as the soldiers wore; sitting with them, drinking with them in the street, jesting and jested with, ever gay. Antony had fought first in Egypt; he loved the East; his eloquence was redolent of Asiatic pomp. Insatiable as to money and pleasure, avaricious and prodigal, stealing to give; he bought without scruple Pompey’s house, and was indignant when asked for payment. Cæsar, who had confided to him the left wing at Pharsalia, could not do without him. He placed him in his car⁴ when he

¹ See Napoleon’s highly favourable estimate of Cæsar.—*Memoire de St. Hélène*, 14th Dec. 1816.

² “I gave them life that they might give me death.”

Ex Pacuvio, Suct. 84.

³ Dio, xliv. 36.

⁴ Plut. *Life of Antony*.

returned from Spain, as if to give his veterans a triumph in his person. Antony remembered this after the death of Cæsar, and thought to succeed him. Yet what was he? A man of the van-guard, a soldier without genius, a proud and pompous actor, who imitated Cæsar without understanding the part. How many men were there in Cæsar. The bold soldier, the friend of the Gauls and the barbarians, was but one of the least features of that immense soul.

Antony lost himself in forgetting that he was nothing more than one of Cæsar's men. The senate having confirmed the will of the dictator, Antony took upon himself the execution of it, inserting every day some new article, and impudently trafficking in the last will of a dead man. He dissipated the money left to the people by Cæsar. He made terms with the senate, and with the Pompeians; he recalled Sextus Pompey; he put to death a man who called himself a grandson of Marius, and who raised an altar to Cæsar. He irritated the legions by his parsimony, decimated them to punish their murmuring, and caused the veterans to be slaughtered before his eyes, and before the eyes of his cruel Fulvia.¹ This man could not be the successor of Cæsar.

There existed a Cæsar, an adopted son of the dictator, who now came to Rome to claim the property of his father. With the exception of his name, there was nothing in this person to please the soldiers. He was a boy of eighteen,² small and delicate, often ailing, frequently lame with one leg; timid, and speaking with difficulty, so much so, that in after years he wrote down beforehand what he intended to say to his wife; his voice was low and weak; he was obliged to make use of a herald to address the people. He had sufficient political daring; he had need of it, when he came to Rome to claim the succession of Cæsar. Other courage he had none; he feared the thunder, he feared darkness, he feared the enemy, and he was implacable towards all those who caused him to fear. At all his victories, at Philippi, at Mylæ, at Actium, he was asleep or ill. In Sicily, when he gained over the

¹ Appian, *Bello Civ.* iii.; Cicero, *Phil.* ii.

² Suet. *Life of Augustus.*

legions of Lepidus and entered their camp, some soldiers seeming about to lay hands upon him, he instantly fled at full speed, to the great amusement of the veterans, whom he afterwards caused to be slaughtered.¹

Such is the wretched outline of the founder of the empire. His father was a knight, a banker, an usurer; he did not deny it. "Thy maternal ancestor," said his enemies, "was an African; thy mother turned the rudest mill in Aricia; thy father dressed the flour with a hand blackened by working the silver at Nerulum." This obscure origin was all the better suited to him who was to commence the great work of the empire, the levelling of the world. When he assumed the pretextorial robe, it fell from his shoulders. "It is a sign," said he, "that I shall tread the senatorial pretexta under foot."² Octavius, however, seldom let such words escape him; attentive to conceal his path, he employed, with wonderful perseverance, stratagem and hypocrisy. He flattered Cicero, in order to prevail against Antony; he amused the latter, until he was strong enough to destroy him. Become master of the world, he was offended when they called him *master*; was always asking permission to lay down his authority; knelt before the people to urge them not to name him dictator, and died in his bed, asking his friends whether he had not well acted the farce of life.³

Plutarch relates, that in the wars of Sylla, Crassus, sent by him through a hostile country, demanded an escort. "I give thee for an escort," said the dictator, "thy father basely murdered." The young Octavius had nothing else than this on arriving at Rome; he declared that he came to avenge Cæsar, and to pay his legacy to the Roman people. He accused Brutus and Cassius of murder; he gave the games promised by Cæsar on the occasion of his victory. He sold his property to pay the money promised to the citizens, and covered Antony with shame, who had withheld that money. The latter carried his imprudence so far as to encourage the demands set up by persons who pretended they had been despoiled by Cæsar. He gave his authority to an edile who refused to place in

¹ Suet.; Plut. *Life of Cicero*.

² Dio, xlv. 420.

³ Suet. *Life of Augustus*.

the theatre the throne and crown of gold which Octavius desired to put there in his father's honour. He insolently forbade them to raise young Cæsar to the tribunate.¹

The senate made much of the latter, without loving him, in the hope of dividing the Cæsarians, and destroying them one by the other. Cicero was especially gracious towards the young man, who feigned to believe his professions, and called him father. "He was," said the orator, with his accustomed levity, "a young man whom it was necessary to praise—to load, to overwhelm with honours."²

No sooner had Antony departed to drive Decimus Brutus from Cisalpine Gaul, than a decree of the senate associated young Cæsar with the consuls Hirtius and Pansa, charged to oppose Antony and aid Brutus. The object of this was at once to ruin Antony, and Octavius, who would lose his popularity by combating for one of the murderers of his father. The consuls defeated Antony, relieved Decimus Brutus besieged in Modena, and, both dying at the same time,³ left Octavius at the head of the legions. Meanwhile, the fugitive Antony had raised an army; a soldier such as he could never be in want of soldiers; those of Lepidus followed him from Gaul to Italy. Octavius himself readily treated with Antony. Cicero thought there was no longer any need of *this boy*;⁴ the senate refused him the consulate. Without military resources, without any other defence than that of three legions of doubtful fidelity, the senators awaited, without comprehending the extent of the danger, the formidable army wherein all the veterans of Cæsar were united under Antony and Octavius. The reader will find in Appian the utter want of foresight, the miserable tergiversations of Cicero, who at that time reigned in Rome and directed the senate.⁵

Antony, Octavius and Lepidus held a conference near

¹ Appian, iii.

² Velleius Pat. ii. 62; Suet. *ut sup.*

³ It was suspected that Octavius had caused them to be put to death.—Tacitus, *Annals*.

⁴ Serv. *ad Eclog.* i. 43.

⁵ Appian, *Bello Civ.* iii. 944.

Bologna, on an island of the Reno; they there divided the empire by anticipation, and promised to each other the heads of all the Roman grandees. They would, they said in their proclamation, which Appian has translated into Greek, leave no enemies behind them, when they were on the point of combating the immense forces of Brutus and Cassius. *They would satisfy the army.* This army, for the most part barbarian, was discontent with the clemency of Cæsar; it thirsted for Roman blood. The triumvirs needed money against an enemy who possessed the richest provinces of the empire. Italy was exhausted; there remained no resources there, but from confiscation. The pretext was the avenging Cæsar upon the old aristocracy, whom, to his own ruin, he had spared. This sanguinary treaty was sealed by the marriage of Octavius with the daughter-in-law of Antony. The soldiers wishing to unite their chiefs, in order to augment the strength of the party, commanded this alliance, and they were obeyed.¹

“The triumvirs, entering Rome, declared that they would imitate neither the massacres of Sylla nor the clemency of Cæsar, not desiring either to be hated like the first, or despised like the second. They proscribed three hundred senators and two thousand knights. For every head brought to them of these proscribed persons, they gave the bearer if a freedman twenty-five thousand drachmas, if a slave, ten thousand and his liberty.”

The victory of Cæsar’s barbarian army avenged the ancient injustice of the slavery which the barbarian nations had so long suffered. The slaves had their turn now. Senators, prætors, tribunes, threw themselves in tears at the feet of their slaves, intreating for mercy, and imploring them not to betray them.² Many slaves gave examples of admirable fidelity. Several were killed in defending their masters. One mutilated himself, and showing a dead body to the soldiers who came to kill his master, made them believe that he had been beforehand with them, and revenged himself.

In order to show that no mercy would be granted, An-

¹ Dio, *xlvi.* 500, No. 13.

² Dio, *ib.*; Appian, *iv.*

tony had sacrificed his uncle, and Lepidus his brother. Both escaped, probably by the connivance of the triumvirs.¹ Cicero was less fortunate. The hesitation which had so often damaged him, now cost him his life. The murderers assailed him before he could either fly or conceal himself. Every one pitied that mild and honest man, who, after all, could only be reproached with a little weakness. His head was brought to Fulvia, who took it on her lap, tore out the tongue, and pierced it with the bodkin she had in her hair. This cruel woman caused the proscription of a man who had refused to sell her his house. When they brought the head of this person to Antony: "This is no concern of mine," he said; "take it to my wife." The head of the unfortunate man was nailed to his house, in order that every one should know the cause of his death.

A prætor learns upon his tribunal that he is proscribed, descends, and hurries away; but he is too late. Another sees a centurion pursuing a man: "Ah! he is proscribed," he cries; "And you also!" replies the centurion, stabbing him on the spot.

A child is accompanied by his preceptor to school, the soldiers stop him; he is proscribed. The preceptor is slain in his defence. An adolescent takes the pre-textal robe, and goes to the temples. His name is on the tables. Instantly his brilliant cortege disappears; he flies to his mother, but, horrible to relate, she closes her door. As he is flying across the fields, he is taken by some people who impress slaves to till the land; but he cannot support so hard a life, and brings his head to the murderers.

A prætor solicits suffrages for his son. He learns that he is proscribed, saves himself in the house of one of the clients, and his son leads the assassins thither. Thoranius, attacked by the murderers, claims pardon in his son's name, who is the friend of Antony. "But it is thy son," say they, "who has denounced thee."

Velleius Paterculus has, in reference to these proscriptions, a sentence that horrifies us. "There was much

¹ Appian, iv.

fidelity in the women, enough in the freedmen; a little in the slaves, and none in the sons; so true it is, that when hope is once awakened, it is difficult to wait!"

Of the triumvirs, the most insolent was, doubtless, Antony, but Octavius was the most cruel.¹ For the very reason that he was ashamed to kill for the sake of killing, and that he alleged the revenging Cæsar as a pretext, he was unmerciful. His cowardice rendered him ferocious. One day he thought he saw the prætor, Q. Gallus, hold something hidden in his robe; he dared not avow his fears, and have him searched immediately. But afterwards he had him tortured, and though he confessed nothing, he threw himself upon him, and, if we may believe his biographer, tore out his eyes before he had him strangled.

His sister Octavia knew how to save a victim from him. In league with her, the wife of a proscript concealed her husband in a coffer, and carried him to the theatre. When Octavius was seated, this woman, in tears, opened the coffer before all the people. The emotion of the spectators obliged Octavius to pardon. Nature thus had her claims, by the voice of the petty people, who had nothing to fear, but, on the contrary, were greatly feared. Thus he obliged the triumvirs to punish two slaves who had betrayed their masters, and to recompense another who had saved his. The people also protected several proscripts who excited their pity. One of these unfortunates shaved his head, and publicly taught Greek. His humiliation was his safety. Oppius carried his father off on his shoulders, and was defended by the people. Afterwards, when Oppius became edile, the workmen laboured gratuitously at the preparations for the games which he was to give, and all the poor wished to contribute.²

The triumvirs themselves became tired of this frightful saturnalia, wherein the soldiers began to lose all respect for them. They had carried their insolence so far as to demand from Octavius the property of his mother, who had just died. The triumvirs joyfully received the solemn protest of a great number of distinguished women, on

¹ Suet. *Life of Aug.* c. 27. He alone of the triumvirs, says Suetonius, never forgave any one.

² Appian, *ut sup.*

whom they had levied a contribution. They finished by charging one of the consuls to repress the excesses of the soldiers. No one dared prosecute these latter, but they punished the slaves who had pillaged with them.

Asia was, meantime, as ill treated by Cassius as was Italy by the triumvirs. The same want of money led to the same violence. He took Rhodes, and although he had been brought up in this town, he murdered fifty of the principal citizens. He ruined Asia, by demanding at once the tribute of ten years. The magistrates of Tarsus, called upon for a contribution of fifteen hundred talents, and pressed by the soldiers, who committed every violence, sold all the public property. Then they despoiled their temples; and that not sufficing, they sold free persons—children, women, and old men, and even young men,¹ most of whom preferred depriving themselves of life.

These cruel necessities of civil war were perfect torture to the mind of Brutus. He suffered under the most oppressive of all fatalities—that which is imposed by a voluntary act. After the death of Cæsar, he had obtained from the other conspirators that they should spare Antony. He had shown the same mercy towards a brother of the triumvir, C. Antonius, who fell into his hands. But the prisoner trying to debauch the soldiers of Brutus, the officer to whose guard he had been confided declared that he would no longer be answerable for him. It was necessary to sacrifice Antonius. He then passed into Asia, and found at Xanthus a desperate resistance. The inhabitants, beholding their town invaded, and delivered to the flames,² killed each other. Brutus, on entering Xanthus, found nothing but ashes. At the same time, the want of money reduced him to the most violent measures.³

Alas! Brutus suffered still more from all this. His soul was sick with this continual effort. It was in vain that he opposed reasoning to nature; humanity grew weak

¹ I have observed in this enumeration the order followed by Appian.

² Dio, xlvii. 514.

³ Several passages in Cicero represent Brutus as very greedy after money. See in Ep. vi. 1, an account of one Scaptius, an agent of Brutus, who, in order to extract an enormous sum from the senators of Salamis, shut them up so long that five of them died of hunger.

within him. Troubled, and, as it were, terrified, he demanded repose and strength of mind from that inflexible philosophy which had already imposed on him so many cruel sacrifices. He gave the day to his affairs, and at night he read the Stoics, to confirm and strengthen him. One night, that there was in his tent but a feeble light, he thought he heard some one enter, and looking towards the door, he perceived a strange figure, which resembled a spectre. He had strength enough to speak to it, and to say: "Who art thou? What wilt thou?" "I am thy evil genius," said the phantom; "thou shalt see me again at Philippi."

And the battle was fought in the plains of Philippi. Brutus wished to bring matters to an end. Every day drove him, in spite of himself, to some violent act. Not being able to guard the prisoners, or to deliver them without peril, he had given the order to strangle them. The troops threatened to abandon him; rather than compromise the great cause to which he had already sacrificed so much, he promised them the pillage of Lacedæmon and Thessalonica. Afterwards, when his colleague was killed, the friends of Brutus insisted that he should abandon to them some buffoons who laughed at Cassius, and he was obliged to consent. It was not surprising that he wished at any price to terminate this unhappy struggle, which had cost him humanity, friendship, ease of conscience, and which was gradually depriving him of his virtue.

One day, when Cassius reproached him for his severity towards a robber of the public money, Brutus said to him, "Cassius, do you remember the Ides of March? On that day we killed a man who never committed evil, but who allowed it to be committed. It would have been better to endure the injustice of the friends of Cæsar than to shut our eyes upon those of our own."¹

Brutus and Cassius, masters of the sea, were not in want of provisions, whilst the army of Antony and Octavius were famishing. Their fleet had just gained a great victory over that of the Cæsarians. But they could scarcely retain the soldiers in their party. Antony was

¹ Plut. *Life of Brutus*.

the man of the veterans, and it cost them an effort to fight for the murderers of Cæsar. On the other hand, Brutus would wait no longer; he must repose, at all events, in death. Cassius suffered himself to be persuaded, and consented to the battle.

Some say that it was Antony who, by a bold attack, forced the other side to fight. Brutus was a conqueror, Cassius had his camp forced. He was ignorant of the success of Brutus; thinking all lost, he withdrew to a tent, and ordered some of his men to kill him. Since the defeat of Crassus, from which he had escaped, Cassius had in his suite one of his freedmen, named Pindarus, whom he reserved for such a moment. Pindarus did not appear again after the death of Cassius, which gives some reason to think that he perhaps killed him without any order.¹

The discouragement of the troops of Cassius and their jealousy, the desertions which took place under his eyes, decided Brutus upon fighting a second battle. The side which he commanded in person again had the advantage; but the other wing being defeated, the whole army of the triumvirs fell upon him and overpowered him. Under cover of the night, he withdrew a little on one side, and seeing that he could not escape, he intreated the rhetorician Strato to destroy him. They say that he first raised his eyes to heaven, and pronounced these two Greek verses:

ὦ τλημον, ἀρετῇ, λόγος ἀρ' ἦσθ' ἐγὼ δέ σε
ὦς ἐργὸν ἡσκουν σὺ δ' ἀρ' ἐδουλενες τυχῇ.²

This bitter sentence, doubtless the most melancholy which history has preserved, seems to indicate that this mind, so impassioned after virtue, was, however, less powerful than that of Cato, his model. Did Brutus estimate virtue by success? The conquerors judged it better; they honoured the remains of the conquered. Antony, threw over his body a rich vestment, and ordered that he should have a magnificent funeral. A friend of

¹ Plut. *Life of Brutus*.

² "Virtue, vain word! futile shadow, slave of chance! Alas, I believed in thee!"—Dio, xlvii.

Brutus had devoted himself to save him. He had allowed himself to be taken, crying out that he was Brutus. Antony attached this man to himself, and he was faithful to him until death. The illustrious Messala always called Brutus his general, and afterwards presenting the rhetorician Strato to Augustus, he said to him: "Cæsar, this is the man who rendered the last service to my beloved Brutus." Augustus asked Messala why he had fought with so much ardour against him at Philippi, and for him at Actium. He answered boldly: "Cæsar, I have ever fought for the most just."

Octavius had absented himself from the battle, sick in body, or, rather, in courage. That day, he says in his memoirs, a god warned me to be careful of myself.¹ He was without pity for the vanquished; he caused a great number to be killed. A father and a son asked his pardon; he promised the son his life on condition that he would kill his father, and then had himself murdered. Another asked but for burial: "The vultures will see to that," answered the pitiless man.²

The conquered party were still masters of the sea, and strong in the East. A lieutenant of Brutus brought the Parthians to Syria, and as far as Cilicia. On the other side, Sextus, the son of Pompey, held Sicily, and received all proscripts and fugitive slaves there. He augmented his forces by part of the fleet of Brutus; the remainder afterwards submitted to Antony. The latter had taken for himself the rich East, the war of the Parthians, and the projects of Julius Cæsar; Octavius had the ruined provinces of the West, a civil war to maintain, and Italy to pillage, to give the veterans the lands which he had promised them. Antony said to the Greeks of Asia: "You shall furnish money, and Italy land." He certainly levied the money, but he gave none to the veterans. Octavius, on the contrary, kept his word; he despoiled all the temples of

¹ Velleius has the effrontery to state, contrary to the testimony of all other historians, that Octavius put to death none of those who had fought against him. In like manner he affirms, that at the battle of Actium, Octavius showed himself, actively engaged, in every part of the battle field.—Suet. c. 14.

² Plut. *Life of Antony*.

Italy.¹ He unpitifully drove away the proprietors, and saw himself between the furious multitude of those whom he was robbing, and an insatiable army which accused him of not taking enough. In an assembly to which Octavius was to come to harangue them, the soldiers tore a centurion to pieces who endeavoured to calm them, and placed his body in the path which Octavius was to take. He hardly dared to complain. In every town there were combats between the soldiers and the people. The malcontents of every kind, people deprived of their property, proscripts, and even veterans, found chiefs in the brother and wife of Antony. They accused Octavius of distributing all the land in his own name, and of obtaining the gratitude of the army for himself alone. In reality, Fulvia wished to bring to Italy, at least by a war, her faithless husband, who was forgetting himself in the east, or perhaps to be revenged on Octavius, whom she loved more than became a mother-in-law, and who had scorned her. She reviewed the legions, her sword at her side, and gave the word of command.²

The army declared that it would judge between Octavius and L. Antonius, and commanded them to appear before it on such a day in the town of Gabii. Octavius humbly proceeded there; Fulvia and Antonius did not come, and laughed at *the booted senate*.³ This word brought misfortune upon them. In spite of the valiant gladiators whom the senators of his party had given him, L. Antonius, confined in Perugia, was reduced to such horrible famine that he was obliged to surrender. The whole town was reduced to ashes by the vanquished themselves. The conqueror unmercifully destroyed the chiefs of the party, except L. Antonius. As for the legionaries, he would by bitter reproaches have made them feel the extent of the mercy he showed them; but his own soldiers took the vanquished in their arms, calling them their brothers and comrades, and made such noise that their general could not be heard.⁴

Antony, who had been asleep in the east by the

¹ Appian, *Bell. Civ.* iv.

² Dio, xlviii.

³ Id. *ib.*

⁴ Appian, *Bell. Civ.* iv.

side of the queen of Egypt, was roused by the war of Perugia, and the cries of Fulvia. He soon embarked at Brindes with a fleet of two hundred vessels, determined to unite with Sextus to overthrow Octavius. (40) But on both sides the soldiers would fight no longer, they commanded peace; Fulvia being dead, they married Antony to Octavia, the sister of Octavius, as they had before married Octavius to the daughter-in-law of Antony.¹ The people of Rome forced Antony and Octavius to come to an arrangement with Sextus. The Sicilian wheat no longer coming to Rome, and that of Africa being stopped by the fleet of Sextus, the populace found courage in famine and despair. They maintained furious combats against the best soldiers of Antony and Octavius; both nearly perished in these struggles. It was necessary to treat with Sextus, but none were in good faith. They promised to leave him Sicily, and to give him Achaia, so that he would have been master of all the central ports of the Mediterranean; they were to restore to the proscripts a fourth of their property. an impossible condition, but which saved the honour of Sextus. On his part, Sextus engaged to send wheat to Italy, and to receive no fugitives. This was signing his ruin, had he kept his word. The deserters from Italy, malcontents or slaves, composed all the force of Sextus. His lieutenants beheld the treaty with grief. It is said that, during an interview on the sea-shore, Menas, the freedman of Sextus, and commander of the fleet, said in his ear: "Let me take those people, and you are the master of the world." Sextus answered, sadly: "Why did you not do it, instead of saying it?"²

The new arrangement seemed little favourable to Octavius. Antony had all the provinces of the east, as far as Illyria. He left his colleague Italy ruined and four wars: Spain and Gaul in arms; Sextus in Sicily, and Lepidus in Africa. Octavius must perish, or strengthen himself so much in this struggle that it would not cost him more to become the sole master of the world.

The salvation and glory of Octavius was, that he discriminated, and brought up two men, two simple knights,

¹ Dio, xliv. 490.

² Appian.

who were his arms, never absent from him, and who could not supplant him: they were two incomplete men; Agrippa was only a machine of war, admirable, it is true, but destitute of political intelligence; the other was Mecænas, a supple and elastic mind, a feminine genius, incapable of virile action, but admirable for counsel. Mecænas seemed expressly formed to calm and quiet Italy, after so many agitations. When he was seen remaining in bed until the evening, walking between two eunuchs, or sitting in the place of Augustus, with a flowing robe without a belt, it was easy to behold in him, under the ostentation of nobleness and languor, the systematic founder of imperial corruption. His art was to remain always little; he would never rise above the rank of a knight. This inferior position, and this chosen part of a woman, allowed him to say the boldest things to Augustus. One day, when the old triumvir was seated on his tribunal, and was about to pronounce several sentences of death, Mecænas, unable to pierce the crowd, wrote two words upon his tablets, and threw them to Augustus. They were: "Rise, thou executioner." Augustus understood this politic counsel, and rose in silence. Before Mecænas and Agrippa, his domination was sanguinary; afterwards, it was unfortunate.¹

Never without these two men would he have conquered Sextus and Antony. It was necessary to restore order in Italy. It was necessary to substitute gradually, for the indocile legions which had conquered at Philippi, an army as good as that of Antony; discipline it, and accustom it to war. It was necessary, under the eye of Sextus, master of the sea, to construct vessels and exercise the sailors. The army was formed gradually in combating the Pannonians, the Dalmatians, the Gauls, and the Spaniards. The fleet, ten times destroyed by the tempest and the enemy, repaired and exercised in the Lucrine lake, of which Agrippa had formed a port, commenced, by victories over the able sailors of Sextus Pompey, the triumph of Actium, more brilliant and less difficult.

¹ See Velleius Pat. and Seneca, *Ep.* 101.

It was not without reason that Pompey had formerly treated the pirates with such mildness, even combating for them against Metellus, who was eager for their destruction. Their town of Soles, in Cilicia, became Pompeiopolis. It is probable, from the superiority of his marine in the civil war, that he drew great aid from it: it was in Cilicia that, after Pharsalis, he deliberated upon the choice of his retreat. Under Brutus and Cassius, the Pompeian party had also the advantage by sea. But while this party possessed considerable resources, it rendered this powerful marine useless by leaving it under the orders of Roman generals, strangers to the sea, such as Bibulus and Domitius. Sextus Pompey, a demi-barbarian, who had long lived by brigandage in Spain, did not hesitate to confide the command of his fleet to two of his father's freed men,¹ Menecrates and Menodorus, probably two old pirate chiefs, whom the great Pompey had made captives, and attached to himself. Sextus did not hesitate to sacrifice to these indispensable men the proscript Marcus, who, after Philippi, had brought him a great portion of the fleet of Brutus.

During three years (39—36), Octavius had none but reverses, in spite of his perseverance and the obstinate courage of Agrippa. The vessels of Octavius, large and heavy, were always reached by those of the enemy, struck with their prows, dismasted, broken, and sunk. The winds and waves were for Sextus; Octavius launched new fleets, to behold them destroyed by the tempest. Whether it was superstition, or to flatter his sailors, Sextus declared himself the son of Neptune, and appeared in public in a robe of sea-blue. In the theatres of Rome, the statue of Neptune was saluted by the acclamations of the people; Octavius no longer dared allow it to appear there. At every defeat he feared the rising of Rome, famished by Sextus; he hastily sent Mæcenas there, to calm and restrain the multitude;² and he himself persevered. Always upon the coasts, constructing, repairing fleets, forming sailors, twice nearly taken by Sextus, and passing stormy nights

¹ Vell. Pat. ii. 37; Appian, *ut sup.*

² Id. *ib.*

without other shelter than that afforded by a Gaulish buckler. What was most useful to him, was his gaining over the lieutenants of his enemy. Menodorus passed four times from one to the other party. These transient desertions had, however, one advantage, that of improving the marine of Octavius, and teaching him the secret of his defeats. And he ended by conquering; he succeeded in disembarking in Sicily, and defeated Sextus. Lepidus had come from Africa to side or treat with Pompey. Whilst he was negotiating with him, Octavius destroyed the army of Sextus, gained over that of Lepidus, and saw himself at the head of forty-five legions. Sextus took refuge in the east; he had, doubtless, connexions in the provinces in which his father had formerly established the conquered pirates. He sent to the Parthians and to Antony, treating at once with and against him; the latter, to whom he might have been so useful on the sea, caused him or allowed him to be killed. This was rendering a great service to Octavius; he had no longer any other rival than Antony. War soon broke out between them. We will resume the affairs of the East.

The dominion of Antony had not been entirely without glory; his lieutenants repulsed the Parthians, who, led by the Pompeian Labienus, had invaded Syria, Cilicia, and even Caria. (42-38.) Ventidius beat them twice in Syria, killed Pacorus, the son of their king, and revenged Crassus. Sosius took Jerusalem, dethroned Antigonus, whom the barbarians had established there, and placed in possession of this kingdom, Herod, the devoted friend of Antony. Judea, so strong in its mountains, situated in the eastern angle of the empire, between Syria and Egypt, the commerce of which was diverted by the mart of Palmyra, would perhaps, in the hands of the Parthians, have been the most favourable outpost of the enemies of the Roman name. However, another lieutenant of Antony, Canidius, penetrated into Armenia, defeated the Iberians and the Albanians, and seized the defiles at Caucasus, that high road of the ancient barbarian migrations, by which Mithridates had so long introduced the Scythian po-

pulations into Asia Minor. Thus Antony found himself master of the three great roads of the commerce of the world—that of Caucasus, that of Palmyra, and that of Alexandria.¹

After the battle of Philippi, Antony had gone through Greece and Asia, to levy the money promised to the victorious legions. Poor Asia, so maltreated by Cassius and Brutus, was obliged to pay a second tribute in the same year; still, all this profited little. Antony, incapable of order or care, lavished this money levied with so much trouble. All his people imitated him. Where he was, nothing was to be seen but fêtes and rejoicings, and these fêtes made all Asia weep. On his arrival, the comedians, the singers, and the buffoons of Italy, who until then had been his delight, were eclipsed by those of the east.² The Tonians and the Syrians got possession of Antony; they brought to Ephesus the new Bacchus in the midst of bands of bacchantes and satyrs. In their songs it was Bacchus, *the amiable and the benefactor*; beneficent, certainly; for, for a dish which pleased him, he gave the cook the house of one of his hosts. Sometimes, however, we must say, Antony was ashamed of all this; he was grieved at his injustice and that of his followers; he admitted them, and by this confession he expiated part of his faults.

He was setting out on this Parthian war, which Ventidius had carried on with so much glory, but wished first to demand an account from the queen of Egypt of the equivocal conduct which she had followed in the civil war, and to draw some money from her. He summoned her to come to Tarsis in all haste. Cleopatra did not hasten; she well knew her power. Arrived in Cilicia, she ascended the Cydnus, upon a galley adorned with all the voluptuous pomp of the east. The prow was gilt, the sails of purple silk, and the silver oars followed the cadence of the flutes and lyres. Loves and nereids surrounded the goddess, who was negligently reposing under an Egyptian pavilion. The air on the banks of the river was scented with all the perfumes of Arabia. To behold this goddess,

¹ Plut. *Life of Antony*.

² Id. *ib.*

this Astarte, who came to visit Bacchus, the whole city rushed to the river side. Antony remained alone on his tribunal.¹

He invited the queen, but she insisted that he should visit her first. She astonished him by a magnificent illumination; the ceilings, the walls of the banquet hall, sparkled with a thousand symmetrical or fanciful figures, traced in fire. From the first day she governed Antony, flattered him, rallied him; bent to her will the simplicity of the Italian soldier, enrolled him in her suite, and, returning to Alexandria, led the lion thither in her train.

Cleopatra's power did not consist so much in her beauty. The height of her who was carried to Cæsar, wrapped up in a bundle, upon the shoulders of Apollodorus, could not have been very imposing. But this little wonder possessed a thousand arts, a thousand varied graces, and the gift of every language. She transformed herself every day, to please Antony. Doubtless, in the *inimitable life*, of which the good Plutarch speaks, the eight boars always roasting, ready at every hour and adapted to every taste, were not much. But Cleopatra never quitted him, either night or day. To chain her soldier, she herself became a soldier. She hunted, played, drank, and followed him, in all his exercises. In the evening, the *imperator* and the queen of Egypt dressed themselves as slaves, ran through the streets, stopped at the doors and windows of people to laugh at their expense, at the risk of receiving insult or blows. Beaten in the streets of Alexandria, and mocked by Cleopatra, Antony was in ecstasies. This *inimitable life* was interrupted by the war of Perusia, and the clamorous eagle, Fulvia, who threatened Antony with being soon robbed of the empire by his rival. He resolved to be a man, tore himself from Egypt, and disembarked at Brindes. We have already seen that Octavius gave him his sister for a wife. (40.) It was the way always to have Antony as a zealous negotiator, and a witness of all his actions. Such was the policy of Octavius. His biographer pretends that he himself made love to all the

¹ Plut. *Life of Antony*.

women of Rome, to learn the secrets of their husbands.¹ When Sextus Pompey was on the point of being overwhelmed, and Antony, seeing the danger, passed again into Italy, Octavius stopped his rival by the influence of his sister, who disarmed Antony, and destroyed him, without knowing it, by making him lose the last occasion he had of prevailing over Octavius.

In the interview of Brindes, and in the fêtes at his marriage with Octavia, Antony often played at chess with Octavius, but he always lost. An Egyptian diviner said to him one day, "Thy genius fears his: it is weak before his." This, dictated, perhaps, by Cleopatra, was nevertheless profoundly deep. The chief of the east was to break with the west. When Antony, tired of Octavia, whose serious face perpetually reminded him of his odious rival, left her in Greece, and passed into Asia, passion led him, no doubt, but policy could justify him. Had not Alexander the Great, descended from Hercules, like Antony, had he not united the conquerors and the conquered, by marrying the daughters of Persia, by adopting their costume and manners? Octavius possessed Rome; it was his capitol. Alexandria only could be that of Antony.²

This city was the central point of the commerce of Asia, Africa, and Europe; the caravansary in which were lodged in turn every nation, religion, and philosophy; the union of Greece and Barbary, the centre of the eastern world. This world appeared entire in the queen of Alexandria. What a queen! as vivid and bold as her first lover, Cæsar, a female Mithridates, astonishing by her sagacity all the barbarous nations, and answering them in their own languages; a varied, vast, and multifarious mind, like that of the ever fruitful Isis, under whose attributes she triumphed in Alexandria.³ It appears that she was adored in Egypt. When, after her death, the statue of Antony was overthrown, an Alexandrian gave two millions sterling to have left those of Cleopatra.⁴

¹ Suet. *in Vita*.

² Appian, book iv. says that Antony attacked Palmyra, the rival of the Communes of Alexandria.

³ Plut. *Life of Antony*.

⁴ Id. *ib*.

Before undertaking the Parthian war, Antony united to the kingdom of Egypt all the basin of the sea of Syria, that is to say, all the maritime and commercial countries of the eastern Mediterranean, Phenicia, Celsyria, the isle of Cyprus, a great part of Cilicia; Judea, which produces the balm, and the Arabia of the Nabatheans, by which the caravans travelled towards the ports of the Indian sea. To place these countries in the industrious hands of the Alexandrians was the only means of restoring to them the commercial importance which they had lost since the ruin of Tyre and the fall of the Persian empire.¹

Antony distributed the thrones of Western Asia before invading Upper Asia. The moment appeared to have arrived to accomplish the projects of Cæsar. The Parthians were divided; many of them, having sought refuge with Antony, told him that their new king, Phraates, had killed his son and his twenty-nine brothers. The king of Armenia, opening the passage by his mountains, dispensed the Romans from traversing those plains which had proved so fatal to Crassus. The light cavalry of Armenia came to join the irresistible squadrons of Gaul and Spain, led by Antony; but it was necessary to hasten. The Parthians dispersed in the winter, and did not then appear in any campaign.

By attacking Phraates in the commencement of this season, they would find him unarmed. Antony also remembered that celerity had been the principal means employed by the great Cæsar. He left the machines of war, which retarded his march, under the escort of two legions; penetrated rapidly into the hostile country, and besieged Praapsa (or Phraata.)

The siege was long and tedious, from the absence of the machines of war, which, with the two legions, had been intercepted by the Parthians. Antony had great difficulty in feeding his cavalry; the king of Armenia drew off his discouraged troops, seduced by the Parthians. From that time there was no success to be hoped for. Phraates

¹ In this he but followed the project of Cæsar, who had conceived the idea of transferring the seat of empire to Alexandria or Troy. Suet. *L. of Cæsar*, 79. See Horace's fine ode, *Iustum et tenacem*, &c.

profited by this moment, and entered into a treaty with Antony. The barbarian king promised him a sure retreat; and during this retreat of twenty-seven days, he fought eighteen combats with him. More able than Crassus, Antony took the road through the mountains, and discouraged the Parthians by the vigorous attacks of his Gaulish cavalry. In the midst of these continual attacks, and all the evils which an army can endure, without provisions, without a road, intercepted by high rocks and wide rivers, the Roman exclaimed several times: "O, the ten thousand!" Antony's retreat was not less glorious than that of Xenophon. His humanity was as admirable as his courage. Arrived at the banks of the river, beyond which they would not pursue him, the Parthians, unstringing their bows, told the Romans to pass in peace, and expressed their great admiration. Antony had lost twenty-four thousand men. He afterwards lost eight thousand by a forced march, which had no other motive than his impatience to see Cleopatra again.

The king of Armenia was the cause of Antony's want of success. This latter found means to seize by treason the Armenian and his kingdom. Master of the strongholds of Armenia, he threatened the Parthians. But before attacking them, he returned again to Egypt, where he wished to show his captive, and to triumph in his eastern Rome.

This solemn adoption of the conquered, which revolted the Macedonians against Alexander, alike irritated the Romans against Antony. It was with astonishment and a kind of horror that they saw him seated by his Isis, arrayed in the attributes of Osiris. He had raised upon a silver tribunal two thrones of gold, one for himself, the other for Cleopatra and Cæsario, whom he declared the son of Cæsar. He then gave the title of "king of kings" to the children he had by this queen. Alexander had for his share Armenia, Media, and the kingdom of Parthia, which Antony hoped to conquer. Ptolemy, his second son, had Phenicia, Syria, and Cilicia. He presented them both to the people. The eldest was in a Median dress, and wore upon his head the tiara and

pointed cap, which was called cidaris, ornaments of the Median and Armenian kings. Ptolemy wore a long cloak, slippers, and a cap surrounded by a diadem, the costume of the successors of Alexander. From that day, Cleopatra only appeared in public dressed in the robe consecrated to Isis, and gave audiences to the people under the name of the new Isis.¹

This was for Octavius a fine and popular subject for war. His cause became that of Rome. However, to render Antony still more odious, he sent Octavia to Greece, with presents of arms, money, and horses. She asked her husband whither he wished her to bring all this. Antony ordered her to remain in Greece, and afterwards to quit his house at Rome. Men beheld her, with compassion, take with her own children, those whom Antony had had by Fulvia. Thus the virtues of the sister served the policy of the brother.

Octavius then accused Antony in the senate of having dismembered the empire, and introduced Cesario into the family of Cæsar. He took from the vestals the will which Antony had deposited in their hands;² he opened it, and read it in the senate. At the same time, he spread the report that Antony wished to give Rome to Cleopatra; that the Roman soldiers already wore the arms of the queen upon their bucklers. The principal witnesses against Antony were one Calvistus and one Plancus, a consular man, who had long amused Antony with his buffooneries; he had gained honours in the orgies of Alexandria, for having so naturally played the part of the fish-god, Glaucus, with a sea-green costume, and a pendant tail.³ Taking his place in the senate, he accused his master; he represented him following the litter of Cleopatra, on foot with her eunuchs, interrupting the business of his tribunal, in the midst of kings and tetrarchs, to read the pretty love tablets, of crystal and cornelian, which the queen sent to him; on another day, descending from his tribunal, and leaving there the illustrious Furnius, who was pleading before him, to join the

¹ Plut. *L. of Antony*.

² Suet. *L. of Aug.*

³ Velleius, *Pat. ii.* 83.

cortege of the queen, which passed upon the square, and support her litter like a slave. Calvisius and Plancus were accused of having forged the greater part of these accusations.¹

They were supported by Octavius, who in this affair had acted in the name of the senate. The motives for war were in reality very weak. If the war was carried on for the interest of Rome, what mattered the divorce of Octavia and the introduction of Cesario into the Julian family? If it had been undertaken to revenge the injuries of Antony towards Octavius, the gift made by the former to the queen of Egypt was as legitimate as every analogous cession made by Octavius of one of the provinces which composed his share. The consuls judged thus, and both passed over to the side of Antony. The senate, governed by Octavius, deprived his rival of the triumviral power, and declared war against the queen of Egypt. "It is not Antony," said Octavius, "whom we combat; Cleopatra's draughts have deprived him of reason; our adversaries will be the eunuch Mardion, Pothin, Charmion, and Iras, Cleopatra's hair dresser."²

Octavius, however, did not feel as confident of success as he appeared. Antony had two hundred thousand footmen, twelve thousand horse, eight hundred vessels, of which two hundred were furnished by Cleopatra. The king of Pontus, those of Arabia, of the Jews, of the Galatians, and of the Medians, had sent him succours; those of Cilicia, of Cappadocia, of Paphlagonia, of Comagena, of Thrace, had come in person to maintain the common cause of the barbarian world. An army of Getæ was already marching on. Antony has been blamed for his frequent delays, and his long stay at Samos with Cleopatra. But I know not whether this time was not necessary to march so many various troops from the depths of Asia to the Adriatic. Octavius, whose forces were less dispersed, was ready first, passed the sea with two hundred and fifty vessels, and landed near Actium an army of about an hundred thousand men.

¹ Plut. *L. of Antony*.

² *Id. ib.*

Cleopatra wished that the victory should be due to her; she insisted that they should fight by sea. It was remembered also, that Pompey, that Brutus, had perished from having rested their fortunes upon a battle by land, instead of profiting by their maritime power. If the fleet was beaten, the legions remained, and nothing was lost; but if the legions were once destroyed, of what use was the fleet? These legions, no doubt, still contained some of the veterans who had escaped the glorious and murderous retreat from Upper Asia; but they had not recruited since in the warlike country of the West. Antony had lent vessels to Octavius, according to the agreement; but Octavius had not sent troops to Antony.¹

Antony's vessels were tall and massive; those of Octavius were light and swift. Superiority of manœuvring was not, however, always a decisive advantage in the naval battles of antiquity. Duillius had beaten the vessels of Carthage, Cæsar those of the Veneti, Agrippa those of Sextus, in rendering them immovable with grappling irons. Antony had few rowers for so large a fleet. But he counted rather upon twenty thousand veterans, whom he placed in his vessels, and who could from above combat with advantage. His vessels did not dread being struck, even in the sides; the prows of the ships of Octavius were shattered against these strong vessels, constructed of strong beams bound with iron. Each one was a citadel which it was necessary to besiege.

The combat was doubtful, and it would have been prolonged several hours longer, when suddenly sixty of Cleopatra's vessels, at full sail, crossed the lines of Antony, and sailed towards the Peloponesus. The queen had wished to enter one of her own vessels, but she could not support the sight of this horrible battle. It may be imagined that this perfidious woman despaired of the fortunes of Antony, and hastened, by a precipitate action, to merit the clemency and, perhaps the love, of the conqueror. She thought that her destiny was to reign over the master of the world, whoever he might be; whether he was called Cæsar, Antony, or Octavius.

¹ Appian, iv.

Antony could not endure this blow; he appeared seized with a vertigo, as was Pompey at Pharsalia. He followed Cleopatra—if innocent, he would defend her; the fleet of the conqueror might arrive at Alexandria as soon as she would; if guilty, he would punish her—prevent her from giving herself to Octavius, and die with her. Perhaps, also, Antony followed her by a blind instinct, and without thinking of all this. Perhaps, also, he thought he risked little by this retreat; he relied on the fidelity of his land army. He was struck with astonishment when, at the end of eight days, he learned that it had gone over to Octavius; and that it would not have done so if it had not heard that Antony had left orders with Canidius to bring it to Asia, by Macedonia.¹

It must be admitted that Antony had a right to depend upon the attachment and fidelity of his followers. All those who quitted him did not complain of him, but of Cleopatra. On the point of giving battle, his old friend Domitius having abandoned him, Antony generously sent him his servants, slaves, and all that belonged to him; Domitius died of remorse. After Actium, the kings abandoned Antony, and the gladiators remained faithful to him. Those whom he maintained at Cyzicus undertook to traverse all Asia Minor, Syria, Phenicia, and the desert, to go into Egypt, and be killed for their master.

The great end of Octavius was, not to follow his rival, but to disperse, and keep in check, the prodigious army of which he was now the chief, by the submission of the legions of Antony. To appease the veterans, it was necessary to sell by auction his own property and that of his friends.

Antony, abandoned by the four legions who remained faithful to him in Cyrenaicum, gave himself up to a fierce despair. His friends, his power, had abandoned him. Even love, that fatal love, failed him in this last day. Retiring to the *Tower of Timon the misanthrope*, near Alexandria, which he had constructed, he there awaited death. But the Egyptian feared the caprice of solitary despair; she found means to regain her captive; and while she sent to

¹ Plut. *Life of Antony*.

Cæsar the crown and sceptre of gold,¹ she intoxicated the unfortunate captive with funereal pleasures, or soothed him with vain dreams. It was no longer the time of the "inimitable life;" in its place she had imagined a society of *inseparables in death*. The nights were passed festively, and by day she tried various poisons upon her slaves, and witnessed their agonies, to see whether there did not exist a voluptuous death.² Antony reposed in the sweet thought that Cleopatra would die with him. Sometimes she raised his hopes, and made preparations to pass into Spain, and renew the war there, or she gathered up her gold and jewels, and ordered that her vessels should be dragged across the isthmus, from the Mediterranean to the Red Sea. She would fly with her Antony to the happy isles of the ocean, and the balmy coasts of the Indies.

When Cæsar approached Egypt, the queen yielded him Pelusium, the key of the country. She had received from him amorous messages,³ and thought she held him also. It was now only necessary to disembarass herself of Antony. The unfortunate man obstinately persisted in confiding in her. The day on which Cæsar appeared before the city, he fought like a lion at the gates of Alexandria, and, returning to the town, he embraced Cleopatra, while yet in arms, and presented his brave men to her. The next day his cavalry betrayed him, his infantry was overpowered, and at the same time he beheld the Egyptian fleet uniting with that of Cæsar. Cleopatra had deprived Antony of this last refuge.

She herself, at last fearing his vengeance, concealed herself, with her treasures, in a fortified tomb, which she had ordered to be constructed. When Antony withdrew to Alexandria, he was informed that Cleopatra had destroyed herself. "I will die, then," said he, and he called a slave whom he had long reserved for this last moment. The slave raised the sword, but instead of striking his master, he pierced himself. Antony blushed, and followed his example. They then told him that Cleopatra still lived; he ordered himself to be carried to her, wishing, at least, to die in her arms. But she, fearing to open the

¹ Dio, li. 6.² Dio, li. ii.³ Dio, li. 8.

door, with the assistance of her women, raised him to the window, whence they took him into the mausoleum. He expired whilst consoling her.

By the same window entered the soldiers of Cæsar; they arrived in time to stop the arm of the queen, who pretended to stab herself with a poniard, which she always wore in her girdle. She, however, really clung to life, and counted upon seducing the young Octavius by the graces of a beautiful grief, and the coquetry of despair, but all failed before the cold reserve of the politician. She then seriously resolved to die, and abstained from food. Octavius wished to conduct her living to Rome, and in her to triumph over all the east; he terrified her by the barbarous threat of destroying her children if she died. The horrible image of the triumph, the fear of being dragged in chains, subject to the insults of the Roman populace, however, was too powerful. One day she was found dead in the midst of her expiring women: she was lying on a couch of gold, her diadem on her forehead, and decorated, as if for a fête, in her royal vestments.

It has never been known how Cleopatra died; it was reported that she had ordered an asp to be brought to her, concealed in a basket of beautiful figs, and when she beheld the liberating reptile raising its little hideous head above the fresh green, she said: "Here thou art then." Cæsar adopted this popular belief, and in his triumph was seen a statue of Cleopatra, with an asp twined round her arm.¹

The eastern myth of the serpent, which we before find in the most ancient traditions of Asia, thus reappeared in her last age, and on the eve of the day in which it was to be transformed by Christianity. The tempter serpent, which whispered evil thoughts to the heart of Adam, which unseen swims, and crawls, and glides, explains but too well the magnetic power of nature over man, that invincible fascination which it exercises over him in the east. And that dangerous Eve, by whom it troubles us, is still the serpent. With the Arab of the desert, the inhabitant of arid Judea, the fecundating

¹ Plut. *L. of Antony*.

river of Egypt, is a serpent sent every year from the unknown mountains of Paradise. Moses only cures Israel of her adulterous idolatry by making her drink the ashes of the brazen serpent. The asp which kills and delivers Cleopatra closes the long dominion of the eastern dragon. This sensual world, this world of the flesh, dies to rise again more pure in Christianity and in Mahometism, which divide Europe and Asia; the imperceptible serpent of Cleopatra, following the triumph of Octavius, the triumph of the west over the east, was a fine figure.

The east had said by the voice of Cleopatra: "I will dictate my laws in the Capitol." It was necessary for it first to conquer the west by the power of ideas. Antony and Cleopatra represented in their union the future union of western barbarism and eastern civilization. But the golden throne of Alexandria was not a place worthy of this divine mystery. It was in the ensanguined dust of the Coliseum that it was to be accomplished by the white robe of the Christian catechumen and the chaste nudity of the barbarian captive.

The eve of the day in which Antony was to perish in Alexandria, in the silence of the night, the harmony of a thousand instruments was heard, mingled with confused voices, dances of satyrs, and a clamour of *Evoë*. One would have said it was a troop of bacchantes, who, after having made a great noise through the town, was passing over to the camp of Cæsar. Every one imagined that it was Bacchus,¹ the god of Alexander and Alexandria, abandoning him for ever, and giving himself to the conqueror. In fact, his time was ended; the phrenetic god of ancient naturalism, the blind Eleuthere, the furious liberator, the sanguinary redeemer of the ancient world, its impure Christ, had led his last choir, consummated his Humanity, and blushing for its past intoxication, was about to throw away the thyrsis and the crown of flowers. Old Olympus had lived the age of the gods; it died, ac-

¹ As to the identity of Bacchus, Osiris, and Serapis, see M. Guignant's dissertation at the end of the fifth volume of M. Burnouf's *Tacitus*. See also Plutarch, *On Isis and Osiris*.

according to the Etruscan prophecy, and the menace of the Prometheus of Eschylus.

Three centuries were, however, still necessary for the god of the soul to conquer the god of nature; the tiger was not chained without inflicting cruel bites; torrents of blood flowed, and souls suffered still more. Epoch of uncertainty, of doubt, and mortal anguish! Who, then, would have thought that it was one day to return? This second age of the world, begun with the Empire, near two thousand years ago; one would say it was near its close. Ah! if it be so, may the third soon arrive, and may God keep us suspended a shorter time between the world which is closing and that which has not commenced.

DISSERTATION

ON THE

UNCERTAINTY OF THE HISTORY OF THE
EARLIER AGES OF ROME.

THE history of Rome stands in immediate relation with that of the world at large. To appreciate the former, we must be acquainted with the latter, nor can we ever know how the primitive text of the Roman history has been modified, falsified, unless, further, we have observed, in other classes of literature, the instances of analogous transformations; unless, for example, we have followed in oriental traditions, and in those of the middle ages, the fantastic metamorphoses which Alexander the Great and his history have there undergone, or studied the Niebelungen in their various changes, from the dawn of the poem, amid the symbolical darkness of the Edda, to the moment when it returns, under the obscured form of the Niflungasaga, to its native land. It is upon a critical investigation of this kind that the true history of the origin of Rome must be founded. To discuss at all authoritatively the mutilated and incomplete traditions that have come down to us, to be in a legitimate position to rectify their errors and to supply their deficiencies, we must examine, in those literatures whose monuments time has better preserved, how a first thought may be disfigured by the inevitable elaboration to which it is subjected in its progress through ages, or by the furtive and more or less accidental falsifications introduced into it by national or family pretensions.

In civilized epochs, men write history; in barbarian epochs, they *make* it. The traditions of the latter epochs are handed down to us in the myths and poems of the barbarian peoples, which are ordinarily the veritable national history of a people, such as the national genius has conceived it. Whether it agree with facts, is of little import. There is the story of William Tell, which for centuries has constituted the glory of Switzerland. We find exactly the same story in Saxo Grammaticus, the ancient historian of Denmark. The story itself may very likely not be real, but it is eminently true in this way, that it is perfectly conformable with the character of the people who have given it forth as historical. The story of Roland, nephew of Charlemagne, is fictitious in its details. Eginhard says but one word about him; he simply relates, that at Roncesvalles perished *Rolandus præfectus oræ maritimæ*. Upon this slight foundation, there has been constructed a true history—true, because in conformity with the genius and situation of those who invented it. For centuries, the Spaniards have celebrated the noble wars of the Abencerrages and the Zigris; yet historians of the highest authority are of opinion that the events are fabulous, and that the Christians have described Moors and Arabians under the features of Christian knights. (See Conde.) At such epochs, the name of poet bears its true meaning, (ποιητης.) The narrator does not create, but simply applies invention to what he sees before him in real life.

External proofs, then, would here be the more convincing.

Meanwhile, an abler writer not undertaking the greater work, we will bring forward the internal proofs we have collected, giving the texts, for and against. Nearly all those who have treated the question, have twisted and turned it, added or omitted, to suit their own theories. Beaufort set the example, which has been recently followed by writers who have undertaken to refute his opinions. For ourselves, we shall give the passages we think calculated to throw a light upon the subject, entire, exactly as we find them. We will first cite the texts in favour of the certainty of the accepted history. They are very

numerous and very positive. Their principal defect is, that they prove too much.

And first, we find in Horace an indication of the different sources of Roman history:—

“Such favourers are they of antiquity, as to assert that the Muses themselves upon Mount Albanus dictated the Twelve Tables, forbidding to transgress, which the Decemviri ratified; the leagues of our kings concluded with the Gabians or the rigid Sabines; the records of the Pontifices, and the ancient volumes of the Augurs.” — Horace, *Ep.* ii. 2.

“For history then was nothing but a collection of annals, in order to transmit the facts to the knowledge of the public. The high priest wrote down all the transactions of each year, from the foundation of the Roman state to the time of the high priest Publius Mucius; this he fairly engrossed, and set up the record at his own house, that the people might consult it for their information, and these at this time are called the *Great Annals*.” — Cicero, *De Oratore*, ii. 12.

According to this passage, the *Annales Maximi* came down to the time of the Gracchi; at which period the high pontiff Mucius lived. *Ab initio rerum Romanarum* is extremely vague. In the same way the words, *Les premiers temps de la monarchie Française* will apply either to the epoch of Philip-Augustus or to that of Clovis.

“The *Annales* were composed in this manner; every year the Pontifex Maximus had white tables presented to him, on which, having prefixed the names of the consuls and other magistrates for the year, he was wont to note down all things worthy of memory that occurred, day by day, at home and abroad, by sea and by land. This constant diligence had collected into eighty books the annual records of past years; and these, from the Pontifices Maximi, by whom they were compiled, were called *Annales Maximi*.” — Serv. in *Æn.* v. 377.

“To the Pontifices was given the authority to note down on tablets the relation of events as they occurred, and these annals were called *Maximi*, because drawn up by the *Pontifices Maximi*.” — Macrob. *Saturn.* iii. 2.

Cicero (Lett. to Atticus, vi. 2) speaks of the *acta urbana*, *acta populi*, *acta senatus*. See also Suetonius, (*Life of Claudius*;) Tacitus, *Annal.* vi. and iv.; Cicero, *De Orat.*, c. 37.

Besides the annals of the pontiffs, we find also cited the *libri magistratum* and *libri lintei*, perhaps the same thing:—

"Whether the mistake is chargeable on the very ancient annals and books of the magistrates, written on linen and deposited in the temple of Moneta, and continually cited as authority by Licinius Macer, which have Aulus Cornelius Cossus, consul, with Titus Quintius Penius, in the ninth year after this, every one may form his own judgment."—Livy, iv. 20. See also Dionys. xi.

"In support of representations so widely different, both Tubero and Macer cite the linen books as their authority: but neither of them deny the record of ancient writers, who maintain that there were military tribunes in that year. Lucinius is of opinion, that the linen books ought to be implicitly followed. Tubero cannot determine positively on either side. But this is a point which, among others, involved in obscurity by length of time, must be left unsettled."—Livy, iv. 20.

Livy does not seem to rely much on these *libri lintei*.

Dionysius speaks of certain monuments on oak tablets, which were renewed when the wood was half decayed:—

"Afterwards the public monuments began to be inscribed on leaden scrolls, and printed on linen or wax."—Pliny, xiii. 2.

"This is still seen from the memoirs called the *Censorial Memoirs*, which fathers transmitted to sons, and these to their descendants, with as much care as their most sacred heritage. There are several families which have been honoured with the office of censor, which preserve these memoirs."—Dionys. i. 60.

We must not confound these with the *tabulæ censoriæ*. —Varro, *de Ling. Lat.* v. Dionys. iv. Livy, xliii. 18.

"Families preserved them as their ornaments and heir-looms, for family use, and to keep up the memory of their nobility."—Cicero, in *Bruto*, c. 16.

Let us recapitulate the sources we have thus far ascertained: 1, the great annals; 2, the public acts; 3, the books of the magistrates; 4, the *lintei libri*, which are perhaps the same with the preceding; 5, the memoirs of the censorial families, which also, perhaps, may be referable to one or other of the preceding categories. These are not all; we further find, at Rome, a practice which was to determine chronology. Every year, the first magistrate, consul, or dictator, struck a nail into a temple, as some say, to mark the epochs, according to others, for a purely religious purpose. On the occurrence of a plague, also, a nail was driven into a temple: *dictator, clavi figendi causâ*.

Persons hard of belief have insisted upon the improbability of the early Romans having had so many written memorials, and have derived, from the custom of driving a nail into a door for the reminiscence of an event or epoch, the inference that the people practising this expedient had not as yet any national writing. The *par excellence* lettered people, the Greeks, had very little writing among them until the time of Pericles. In speaking of the fourth century of Rome, Livy admits that scarcely any writing existed there at that time. We find no letters on the more ancient coins of Rome; and, according to Cicero, there was not a single inscription upon any one of the ancient statues. Yet a curious circumstance, related by Livy, would indicate that, even in the earliest ages, Rome possessed, not only the use of writing, but also law and a philosophy:—

“In the same year, some workmen, in the farm of Lucius Petillius, a notary, at the foot of the Janiculum, digging the ground deeper than usual, discovered two stone chests, about eight feet long and four broad, the covers of which were soldered with lead. Both the chests had inscriptions in Greek and Latin letters, one signifying that therein was buried Numa Pompilius, son of Pompo, and king of the Romans; the other, that therein were contained the books of Numa Pompilius. The owner of the ground having, by the advice of his friends, opened these chests, found the one, which according to its inscription contained the body of the king, perfectly empty, without any appearance of a human body or of anything else, having ever been in it; the whole being consumed by the decay of such a number of years. In the other were found two bundles, tied round with waxed cords, and each containing seven books, not only entire, but apparently quite fresh. Seven were in Latin, and related to the pontifical law; and seven in Greek, containing the doctrines of philosophy, such as might have been known in that age. Valerius Antias adds, that they contained the doctrines of Pythagoras, supporting, by this plausible fiction, the credit of the vulgar opinion, that Numa had been a disciple of Pythagoras. The books were read, first, by Petillius's friends, who were present at the discovery; and, afterwards, by many others, until they came to be publicly spoken of. Then Quintus Petillius, the city prætor, having a desire to read them, borrowed them from Lucius Petillius, with whom he was familiarly acquainted; in consequence of Quintus Petillius having, when quæstor, chosen him, who was a notary, a decurio of horse. On reading the principal heads of the contents, he perceived that most of them had a tendency to undermine the established system of religious doctrines, and, thereupon, he told Lucius Petillius, that, ‘he was determined to throw those books into the fire; but before he did so, he gave him leave, if he thought he had any right or title to demand the restitution of them,

‘to make the trial, which would not give him the least offence.’ The notary applied to the plebeian tribunes, and the tribunes referred the matter to the senate. The prætor declared, that he was ready to make oath that those books ought not to be read or preserved; and the senate decreed, that ‘the prætor’s having offered his oath ought to be deemed sufficient evidence that those books should, without delay, be burned in the comitium, and that the owner should be paid for them such price as might be judged reasonable by the prætor Quintus Petillius, and the majority of the plebeian tribunes.’ This the notary did not assent to. The books, however, were burned in the comitium, in the view of the people, the fire being made by the public servants whose duty it was to assist at sacrifices.”—Livy, xl. 29. See also Pliny, xiii. 13; Plut. *L. of Numa*; Festus, in verb. *Numa*; Lactantius, *de fals. relig.* i. 22.

It would appear, from this narrative, that the patricians, in possession of religion, were by no means desirous that any contradiction should be detected between them and the ancient Romans, as to the authority on which they relied. But the question is, how did they manage to read these books, when, as we find in the time of Polybius, the best instructed could not read treaties concluded by the Romans two full centuries after Numa? How were these books identified with Numa? Perhaps they were only books *upon* Numa? It is certainly most marvellous that time should so entirely have destroyed the body inclosed in this tomb, while we of the present day are in possession of antediluvian bones.

Cicero, in a passage of his *Republic*, goes much further; according to him, the Romans of the time of Romulus were as civilized as the Greeks.

“*Scipio*.—Agreed. But was not Romulus, think you, a king of a barbarous people?

“*Lælius*.—Why, as to that, if we were to follow the example of the Greeks, who say that all peoples are either Grecianized or barbarous, we must confess that he was a king of barbarians; but if this name belongs rather to manners than to languages, I believe the Greeks were just as barbarous as the Romans.”—Cicero, *de Rep.* i. 83.

“The apotheosis of Romulus was the more illustrious, because most of the great men that have been deified were so exalted to celestial dignities by the people, in periods very little enlightened, when fiction was easy, and ignorance went hand in hand with credulity. But with respect to Romulus, we know that he lived less than six centuries ago, at a time when science and literature were already advanced, and had got rid of many of the ancient errors that had prevailed among less civilized peoples.”—Id. *ib.* ii. 118.

Cicero seems to judge of the civilization of Rome, in the time of Romulus, from the Greek poets and orators who flourished contemporaneously, but whose genius is no proof in favour of Rome, which knew nothing whatever at the time about them.

In the fragments of the book addressed to Hortensius, he exalts the importance of the Roman annals; the passage, however, is extremely vague. We do not know whether he speaks of history in general, or merely of the pontifical annals, or only of the domestic annals; his words are these:—

“Undè autem faciliùs quàm ex annalium monumentis, aut res bellicæ, aut omnis republicæ disciplina cognoscitur? Undè ad agendum, aut dicendum copia depromi major gravissimorum exemplorum, quasi incorruptorum testimoniorum potest.”

In his *Republic*, he says: “We readily follow Polybius, than whom no historian was ever more diligent in his investigations.”

The erudite Varro had full faith in the certainty of the early history of Rome, but his etymologies do not say much for the critical sagacity of this learned person, who, however, is highly lauded by Cicero in the commencement of his *Academical Questions*, where he talks of the elegant *poema* that Varro had produced—an expression, by the way, to be borne in mind.

What is the result of all these texts? What are we to conclude from them, if we adopt them without discussion? That apparently the Roman history is clearer, more congruous, more coherent, more certain, than the Greek history furnished us by Thucydides. At every moment, we find the latter in a state of doubt. He says: “I have asked, I have consulted, but I can attain nothing certain.” How is it that Livy, how is it that Polybius, the friend of the Scipios, Polybius who lived so long at Rome, found difficulties opposing their progress at a thousand points? If all the authorities in favour of certainty were clear, the hesitation of these historians would be absurd. In point of fact, the inconvenience of the texts in favour of certainty is, that they prove too much. The extant histories do not at all answer to any such materials: it is inconceivable that, for seven centuries, documents of all sorts

have been thus amassing, and that we have as their result the confused and wildly romantic story told us by Dionysius and Livy.

We will now cite the texts against the certainty of the first five centuries of Rome. Let us, in the first place, ask Livy what he really thinks of their undoubted history. He replies:

"Such perplexing mistakes, with regard to dates, occur from the magistrates being ranged in different order, by different writers, that it is impossible, at this distance of time, when not only the facts, but the authors who relate them, are involved in the obscurity of antiquity, to trace out a regular series of the consuls as they succeeded each other, or of the transactions as they occurred in each particular year."—Livy, ii. 21.

"In some annals I find Vopiscus Julius set down for consul, instead of Virginins. This year, *whoever were consuls*, &c."—*Ib.* 54.

"It is not at all clear in what year, nor under what consuls, a dictator was first created, nor who he was."—*Ib.* 18.

"There is great confusion both in the accounts of particular exploits and in the public monuments."—*Ib.* 40.

Cato says in Gellius, ii. 28:

"I have no inclination to transcribe what appears on the tablet of the Pontifex Maximus, how often corn is dear, how often the light of the sun or moon is, from some cause or other, obscured."—Aulus Gellius, i. 171.

Pliny says, (N. B. viii. 57,) that we see in these annals, "that the cry of the shrewmouse interrupted the auspices," and such things. Gellius (iv. 5) cites a passage from the 11th book of the Annals, which narrates a perfidious reply made by the Etruscan augurs; they occupied themselves, in fact, with the fullest details upon all subjects.

"As to the relations which have been handed down of events prior to the founding of the city, or to the circumstances that gave occasion to its being founded, and which bear the semblance rather of poetic fictions, than of authentic records of history—these I have no intention either to maintain or refute. Antiquity is always indulged with the privilege of rendering the origin of cities more venerable, by intermixing divine with human agency; and if any nation may claim the privilege of being allowed to consider its original as sacred, and to attribute it to the operations of the gods, surely the Roman people, who rank so high in military fame, may well expect, that, while they choose to represent Mars as their own parent, and that of their founder, the other nations of the world may acquiesce in this, with the same deference with which

they acknowledge their sovereignty. But what degree of attention or credit may be given to these and such-like matters I shall not consider as very material."—Livy, Preface.

"It appears in three several histories, that a letter was sent by the consul to call his colleague from Samnium. But I will not affirm what requires stronger proof, that point having been disputed between these two consuls, a second time associated in the same office; Appius denying that he sent any such, and Volumnus affirming that he was called thither by a letter from him."—Livy, x. 18.

"It is not worth while either to affirm or to refute these things."—Livy, v. 21.

"We must fain take the tradition of a matter, where its antiquity throws a doubt over it."—Livy, vii. 6.

Cicero (*De Legibus*, L. 1, 2, 3) speaks very slightly of the first ages of Rome:

"*Marcus Cicero*.—I will answer you frankly, my Atticus. But you must first inform me what you think of the tradition which asserts, that not far from your house at Rome, Proculus Julius beheld our first king Romulus walking after his decease, and that he heard him declare his desire of being invoked as a god, of being entitled Quirinus, and of having a temple there dedicated to his memory? Tell me also what you think of the tradition of the Athenians, who maintain that not far from your Athenian villa, Boreas made a stolen match with Orithya, for so runs the story.

"*Atticus*.—For what purpose do you ask me such questions as these?

"*Marcus*.—For no purpose at all, unless it be to convince you that we had better not inquire too critically into those remarkable accounts which are thus handed down by tradition.

"*Atticus*.—But this ingenious apology will not deter some from inquiring whether many of the statements in your Marius are true or false: and some will expect the greater accuracy from you, since Arpinum was your own birth place as well as that of Marius, and the events of his life must be fresh in your memory.

"*Marcus*.—I have certainly no ambition to gain the reputation of a liar. But some of these inquisitors, my Atticus, are really too severe. It is preposterous to expect an exact statement of matters of fact in a poem of this nature, as if I had written it not as a poet, but as an eyewitness upon oath. I doubt not the same critics would make the same objections if I were to versify on Numa's intercourse with Egeria, and the Eagle which dropped a coronet on the head of the first Tarquin."

Atticus says elsewhere, in soliciting Cicero to compose a history of his own time:

"These memoirs, I imagine, would be far more interesting than anything he could tell us respecting Romulus and Remus."—Cicero. i. 29.

Our astonishment at the apparent contradiction between these passages, and those in the Republic, may be

removed when we reflect that in the latter work the words are put in the mouth of the great Scipio, addressing an imposing assembly on a solemn occasion; his discourse is a sort of hymn to the glory of Rome, with which historical criticism had nothing to do. The book *De Legibus*, on the contrary, is a familiar conversation between Cicero, Atticus, and his brother, where the writer is at liberty to say freely what he thinks of the commencement of Rome. Yet, even in the *Republic*, scepticism is occasionally manifested.

"What commencement of a political constitution can we conceive more brilliant, or more generally accredited, than the foundation of Rome by the hand of Romulus, the son of Mars? Let us, therefore, still venerate a tradition, at once so antique and so gravely maintained by our ancestors, that those who have done great service to communities, may enjoy the reputation of having received from the gods, not only their genius, but their very birth."—Cicero, i. 205.

"But in those ages, little more than the names of the kings were recorded."—Cicero, i. 222.

"In the five preceding books, I have exhibited a view of the affairs of the Romans, from the building of the city of Rome, until its capture; under the government, first, of kings; then of consuls and dictators, decemvirs, and consular tribunes; their foreign wars, and domestic dissensions: matters involved in obscurity, not only by reason of their great antiquity, like objects placed at such a distance as to be scarcely discernible by the eye; but also because that, in those times, the use of letters, the only faithful guardian of the memory of events, was very rare. And besides, whatever information might have been contained in the commentaries of the pontiffs, and other public or private records, it was almost entirely lost in the burning of the city. Henceforward, from the second origin of Rome, from whence, as from its root, receiving new life, it sprung up with redoubled health and vigour, I shall be able to give the relation of its affairs, both civil and military, with more clearness and certainty."

"They ordered, in the first place, that a collection should be made of the treaties and laws which could be found. The latter consisted of the twelve tables, and some laws enacted by the kings. Some of these were publicly promulgated; but such as related to religious matters were kept secret, chiefly through means of the pontiffs, that they might hold the minds of the multitude in bondage."—Livy, vi. 1.

"But why pause upon a period respecting which we have no clear, no certain information: since, as Livy assures us, the Roman history has been falsified, and its monuments destroyed."—Plutarch, *on the Fortune of the Romans*.

After the burning of Rome, in which the larger portion

of the pontifical annals perished, a strict search was made for treaties, for the books of the twelve tables, &c.; treaties and laws, no other historical monuments. These treaties even were unknown to the vast majority of the Romans, and could no longer be read. I append two very important ones, with which neither Livy, nor Dionysius, nor Plutarch, were acquainted:

"The temple of Jupiter, supremely good and great, built by our ancestors with solemn auspices, the pledge of empire, which neither Porsenna, when Rome surrendered to his arms, nor the Gauls, when they captured the city, were permitted to violate, should be now demolished by the madness of the rulers of the state."—Tacitus, Book iii. 72.

"In the treaty which, on the expulsion of the kings, Porsenna contracted with the Roman people, we find it expressly provided, that they should not be allowed the use of iron, except in agriculture."—Pliny, xxxiv. 19.

"There is so great a difference between the ancient Latin language, and that now in use, that the most learned can scarcely, with all their application, explain many of the old words. It is not surprising that Philinus should have been unacquainted with the existence of this treaty; since, in my time, the most aged Romans and Carthaginians, and even the men who were best acquainted with political affairs, knew nothing of it."—Polybius, iii.

Polybius elsewhere gives us the text of another treaty, of equal importance (book iii.), that between the Romans and Carthaginians. This treaty is printed in the body of the present work.

"Having entered upon his office, he introduced a *new* regulation, which was, that all the acts, both of the senate and people, should be daily committed to writing, and made public."—Suetonius, *Life of Jul. Cæsar*, xx.

"Letters were but little known at that time," (at the end of the fourth century of Rome.) See also Festus, *Verb.*; Clavius. "The custom *clavi figendi*, renewed at the end of the fourth century, *ex seniorum memoriâ repetitum*."—Livy, vii. 3.

"For heaven's sake, though we are not admitted to inspect the records,¹ or the annals² of the pontiffs, are we ignorant of the things

¹ The records, in which the names of the magistrates, in succession, and the most memorable events were recorded.

² The annals were a compendious registry of events, as they occurred, made by the pontiffs, who likewise had the care of the records, and kept both carefully shut up from the inspection of the lower order.

which even every foreigner knows? That consuls were substituted in the place of kings; and, consequently, have no kind of privilege or dignity which was not possessed before by kings?"—Livy, iv. 2.

From all this it results, that—1. The Romans, and particularly Cicero, laughed at the tales of their early history; Livy himself has often his doubts. 2. The *fœdera et leges*, when discovered, were scarcely ever exhibited, and then could not be read. 3. The pontifical annals were, for the most part, burned, and what remained of them were kept secret. 4. The acts of the senate only date from Julius Cæsar. 5. The nails even do not remain to supply the place of other documents; the custom *clavi figendi* had been renewed *ex seniorum memoria*; it had, therefore, been interrupted.

We shall now proceed to show: 1. That there is no Roman writer or historian anterior to Cato. 2. That the first historians of Rome were Greeks. 3. That Dionysius and Polybius set no value on the historians who preceded them. 4. That the historians of Rome differ from and contradict each other on an infinity of points.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus, in the commencement of his first book, expresses himself thus: "Hieronymus of Cardia is, as far as I know, the first who touched, and that slightly, upon the history of the Romans, in a history of the successors of Alexandria. Next, Timæus mentioned them in an universal history, and in the special history he wrote of the wars of Pyrrhus. Add Antigonus, Polybius, Silenus, and I know not how many others, who have treated historical subjects in various ways. All of them, however, have said very little about the Romans, and that little inexact, and altogether derived from popular rumours. The histories which the Romans have written in Greek, as to the earlier ages of Rome, have precisely the same character. Their most ancient regular historians are Q. Fabius and L. Livius, both of whom flourished in the time of the Punic wars. They narrated correctly enough what they themselves had actually seen and actually knew; but they passed over very lightly and superficially all that had taken place from the foundation of Rome up to their own time.

The same historian observes further on: "The Romans have no historians, no writers; all they say is borrowed from what remains of the sacred books."

"Nec verò habes quemquam antiquiorem (*Catone*) cujus quidem scripta proferenda putem, nisi Appii Cœci oratio hæc ipsa de Pyrrho, et nonnullæ mortuorum laudationes fortè delectant, et hæc quidem exstant."—Cicero, *Brutus*, c. 16.

"There are no older precepts than these, on the subject (Cato's writings on agriculture), in the Latin language; so near are we to the beginning of things."—Pliny, xiv. 4.

"By far the most ancient of our writers," (speaking of Fabius Pictor, 220 B.C.—Livy, ii.

"The most ancient of our annalists," (speaking of Cassius, who lived about 146 B.C.—Pliny, xiii. 3.

"You would therefore be doing us a great favour if you would undertake this work, and devote your time to a complete history of Rome, which is unknown to most of our fellow-citizens, or at least neglected by them. For after the annals of the chief pontiffs, which are very contracted, if we come to the book of Fabius, or Cato, whom you are always eulogising, or the treatises of Piso, Fannius, and Venonius, though one of them may excel another, are they not all extremely defective? The contemporary of Faunius, Cœlius Antipater, adopted a bolder style of expression. His energy was indeed somewhat rude and rough, without polish or point, but he did what he could to recommend a manly and truthful eloquence. But unfortunately he had for his successors a Claudius, an Asellio, who, far from improving on him, relapsed into the former dulness and insipidity.

"I scarcely need to mention Attius. His loquacity is not without its fine points, though he has derived them not so much from the great Grecian authors, as from the Latin scribblers. His style is full of littlenesses and atrocious conceits. His friend Sisenna, far surpasses all our historical writers whose compositions have yet been published, for of the rest we cannot judge. He has, however, never gained a name among the orators of your rank; and in his history he betrays a sort of puerility. He seems to have read no Greek author but Clitarchus, and him he imitates without reserve, but even when he succeeds in his imitation, he is still far enough from the best style. Therefore the task of historian of right belongs to you, and we shall expect you to accomplish it, unless Quintus can bring forward any reasonable objections."—Cicero, *de Leg.* i. 27.

"Of what period should we first begin to write? I think of the most remote: for the histories we have of them at present are such, that no one reads them."—*Id. ib.*

"With regard to my design in passing this censure on Fabius and his writings, I was not led to it by any apprehension that his accounts would otherwise gain credit with the reader; for his inaccuracy and want of judgment are everywhere so discernible, that they need not be

particularly pointed out. But I was willing to caution those who take his works into their hands, that they should consider always the facts themselves, rather than the character of the writer; for there are some whose prejudices so strongly favour him, because he was a senator of Rome, and lived in the times of which he writes, that they admit, without any kind of doubt or hesitation, everything which he relates. For my own part, as I did not think that his authority should be entirely disregarded, so neither can I allow it to have sufficient weight to decide in any point, unless it be supported also by the credibility of the facts. But it is time to finish this digression."—Polybius, iii.

"I lived at Rome for twenty-two years, and learned the language thoroughly. During the whole of that time, I was solely occupied in making myself accurately acquainted with all that had relation to my undertaking. I did not take it in hand until after I had informed myself upon a vast number of things by the conversation of very learned persons with whom I formed acquaintance. The remainder I derived from the historians most in esteem, such as Porcius Cato, Fabius, Valerius Antias, Licinius Macer, Ælius, the two Galbi, the two Calpurnii, and others who enjoy more or less reputation."—Dionysius, i. 6.

"I cannot help censuring Fabius for his inexactitude in chronology. This is a most negligent historian, and has taken little heed to investigate the truth of what he narrates."—Id. iv.

Livy admits the diversity of opinions respecting the Horatii, the Curiatii, and the death of Coriolanus. In speaking of a circumstance said to have happened about 294, he expresses a doubt as to the date; Dionysius has no doubt as to any of the three cases.

Cato was by no means a critical historian. He says that the first inhabitants of Latium were Achæans, which is contrary to all historical data. He tells us himself that he wrote his history with favourable features, in order that his son might have great examples before him. (*Plutarch in Vita.*) Nothing so easily dispenses with critical research as a moral aim. See, for example, the remarkably flat book of Valerius Maximus. But yet Cato is the weightiest of the early historians of Rome. What can we say to Calpurnius, Piso, Frugi, and of Valerius of Antium? Aulus Gellius has preserved some passages from these works characterized by singular puerility. Valerius, among other things, informs us, that Romulus and Remus were taught Greek at Fabii, and that their grandfather, in other respects, took great care as to their

education. We will copy from Plutarch (*Life of Numa*) a passage which he must have taken from one of these early historians of Rome:

"The story goes, that when Mount Aventine was not inclosed within the walls, nor yet inhabited, but abounded with flowing springs and shady groves, it was frequented by two demigods, Picus and Faunus. These, in other respects, were like the Satyrs, or the race of Titans;¹ but in the wonderful feats they performed by their skill in pharmacy and magic, more resembled the *Idæi Dactyli*² (as the Greeks call them), and thus provided, they roamed about Italy. They tell us that Numa, having mixed the fountain of which they used to drink with wine and honey, surprised and caught them. Upon this they turned themselves into many forms, and, quitting their natural figure, assumed strange and horrible appearances. But when they found they could not break or escape from the bond that held them, they acquainted him with many secrets of futurity, and taught him a charm for thunder and lightning, composed of onions, hair, and pilchards, which is used to this day. Others say, these demigods did not communicate the charm, but that by the force of magic they brought down Jupiter from heaven. The god, resenting this at Numa's hand, ordered the *charm to consist of heads*. 'Of onions,' replied Numa. 'No, human——' 'Hairs,' said Numa, desirous to fence against the dreadful injunction, and interrupting the god. 'Living,' said Jupiter; 'Pilchards,' said Numa. He was instructed, it seems, by Egeria, how to manage the matter. Jupiter went away propitious (in Greek, *ileos*), whence the place was called Illicium;³ and so the charm was effected."—Plutarch, i. 142-3.

There were, however, some historians less credulous; Clodius, cited by Plutarch, tells us that the ancient monuments of the Roman history were burned in the conflagration of the Capitol, and new ones forged by the great families of the time, who inserted fictitious genealogies to suit their own purposes.

¹ Some manuscripts give us *Πανων*, instead of *Τιτανων*, which is a better reading, because Picus and Faunus were horned sylvan deities, like Pan.

² Diodorus tells us from Ephorus, the *Idæi Dactyli* were originally from Mount Ida in Phrygia, from whence they passed into Europe with king Minos. They settled first in Samothrace, where they taught the inhabitants religious rites. Orpheus is thought to have been their disciple; and the first that carried a form of worship over into Greece. The *Dactyli* are likewise said to have found out the use of fire, and to have discovered the nature of iron and brass to the inhabitants of Mount Berecynthus, and to have taught them the way of working them. For this, and many other useful discoveries, they were after their death worshipped as gods.

³ This is Plutarch's mistake. Ovid informs us (*Fast.* l. iii.) that Jupiter was called *Elicius* from *elicere*, to draw out, because Jupiter was drawn out of heaven on this occasion.

Cornelius Nepos and Varro exhibit a total absence of critical views. The superficiality of the latter is more especially remarkable. The negligence of Livy is well known; he was not even acquainted with the national treaties. Sometimes he translates Polybius without acknowledging his author, and when we come to compare the translation with the original, we find it to have been executed with the utmost carelessness; he not unfrequently relates the same fact several times. But at least Livy has the merit of giving his poem as a poem.

The partiality of Dionysius and his successors is self-evident. According to them, the Romans were the most just and moderate people in the world. Yet they conquered the world, and it seems very extraordinary that the various states should always, at the very juncture, have given them legitimate motives for their aggression. During five hundred years, says Dionysius, there was no blood spilt in the Forum, notwithstanding the constant disputes between the patricians and plebeians. Here, again, it seems very extraordinary that these warriors, animated with the fiercest hostility, should have met daily in the public square without even elbowing one another. But no: even when the laws were set aside, when the people had retired to the Sacred Mount, they died rather than touch the possessions of the rich. In their disputes, says Dionysius, they always observed the most perfect form and order; one party said something, the other replied, then the first assailant rejoined, and so on. You imagine you see before you the moderation and ceremonious phlegm of China.

All these historians of the early ages of Rome differ from each other upon the most important points. We will cite some texts.

First, as to the founder of Rome, (see Dionys. i. 73; Festus, *voc* Roma):—

“Romam appellatam esse Cephalaon Gergithius, qui de adventu Æneæ in Italiam videtur conscripsisse, ait ab homine quodam comite Æneæ—Apollodorus in Euxenide ait, Ænea et Laviniâ natos Mayllem, Mulum, Rhomumque, atque ab Rhomo urbi tractum nomen—Alcimus ait Tyrrheniâ Æneæ natum filium Romulum fuisse, atque eo ortam Albam Æneæ nepotem, cujus filius nomine Romus condiderit urbem Romam. Antigonus, Italicæ historiæ scriptor, ait Rhomum quemdam nomine, Jove conceptum, urbem condidisse in Palatio Romæ, eique dedisse nomen,” &c.

Festus states the opinions of a number of other historians: that of Aristotle was, that Rome was a Greek city, founded on the return from the Trojan war (Marinus, *lupercaliorum poeta*, in Servio, ad v. 20, Ecl. I.):

“Roma ante Romulum fuit,
Et ab ea nomen Romulus adquisivit,
Sed Dea flava et candida,
Roma Æsculapii filia
Novum nomen Latio facit,
Quod conditricis nomine
Ab ipso omnes Romanam vocant.”

The date of the foundation of Rome was as uncertain as the name of the founder. Fabius Pictor, Cato, Polybius, Varro, Cicero, Trogus Pompeius, Eutropius, all differ in opinion on this point. They all, however, place it after the first Olympiad; Timæus, on the contrary, says that it was founded the same year with Carthage, that is, thirty-eight years before the first Olympiad.

Ennius tells us that Rome was founded since—

“Septingenti sunt paulò plus vel minus anni.”

Now Ennius lived two hundred years B.C., so that his account will place the foundation of Rome 900 B.C. The calculation generally adopted is that of Varro, who, however, is a writer of no higher authority than the rest.

We do not at all know who were the original inhabitants of Italy. According to Livy and Plutarch, they were banditti; Dionysius, on the contrary, boasts of the probity of the companions of Romulus.

Dionysius states that the first Tarquin received the submission of twelve Etruscan towns; Livy does not say a word about anything of the sort.

How did Servius obtain the crown? By flattering the people, says Livy; by flattering the grandes, says Dionysius.

The origin of the comitia by tribes, perhaps the most important fact in the history, is represented in a different manner by nearly all the historians.

In their account of the earliest years of Rome, Livy and Dionysius never agree except as to the history of Por-senna, and here they are contradicted by other historians. Livy tells us that he withdrew to please the Romans; Diony-

sus, that they sent him the insignia of royalty, which was a token of vassalage. Tacitus says that the city was surrendered, *deditâ urbe*, and the testimony of the two latter is corroborated by Pliny, who gives the terms of the ignominious treaty which Porsenna imposed upon the Romans.

In Polybius, Horatius Cocles perishes; in the other historians, he escapes.

As to Mutius Scævola, Clelia, the three hundred Fabii, and the origin of the quæstorship, opinions are wholly different. It is the same with the origin of the tribunate, a circumstance of such vast importance in the history of Rome.

The war of Porsenna is re-produced in an abridged form thirty years after its termination.

“Obsessa urbs foret, super bellum annonâ premente (transierant enim Etrusci Tiberim) ni Horatius consul ex Volscis esset revocatus; adeoque id bellum ipsis institit mœnibus, ut primò pugnatum ad Spei sit æquo Marte, iterum ad portam Collinam. Ab arce Janiculi passim in Romanum agrum impetus dabant.”—Livy, ii. 25-6.

There is equal diversity of opinion as to the date of the taking of Rome by the Gauls. The majority of historians, however, place the event in the first year of the ninety-eighth Olympiad. Livy and Plutarch relate the victory of Camillus over the Gauls; Polybius, Suetonius, Plutarch, and Strabo, say that the Gauls were not beaten by Camillus, but that the Romans bought themselves off.

Then, as to the succeeding wars against the Gauls: in Livy, we find the enemies of Rome constantly beaten; whereas, according to Polybius, the Romans only obtained two victories; the successes, on the whole, being pretty equally balanced. Livy represents these victories to have been eight instead of two, and all of them most decisive, and most destructive to the enemy; twenty thousand, thirty thousand, of whom remain dead on the field on each occasion. Polybius says nothing about the single combat of Manlius Torquatus; yet, let it be borne in mind, Polybius wrote his history at Rome, where he was a captive; and the friend of Scipio Æmilianus would not have ventured to abridge the Romans of any victory that really belonged to them.

As to the genealogies and the falsifications to which

they gave rise, I will cite some extracts and make a few observations.

Varro wrote a book upon the Troy descended families.—*Servius*, *Æn.*, v. 117, 704.

“*Sic familiarum originem subtexnit (Atticus), ut clarorum virorum propagines possimus cognoscere. Fecit hoc idem separatim in aliis libris; ut, M. Bruti rogatu, Juniam familiam à stirpe ad hanc ætatem, ordine enumeraverit, notans qui, à quo ortus, quos honores, quibusque temporibus cepisset. Pari modo, Marcelli Claudii (subauditur ROGATU), Marcellorum, Scipionis, Corneli et Fabii Maximi, Corneliorum et Fabiorum et Æmiliorum quoque.*”—*Corn. Nepos, Attici, vita*, 18.

“*Exstat Messalæ oratoris indignatio, quâ prohibuit inseri genti suæ. Lævinorum alienam imaginem. Similis causa Messalæ seni expressit volumina illa, quæ de familiis condidit, cum Scipionis Pomponiani transisset atrium, vidissetque adoptione testamentariâ Salutiones (hoc enim fuerat cognomen); Africanorum dedecore irrepentes Scipionum nomini.*”—*Plin. xxxv. 2.*

Yet there is attributed to Messala a genealogy still extant of the Julian family, in which this family is traced back to Dardanus.—*Beaufort*, x. 141.

“*Vitiatam memoriam funebribus laudibus reor, falsisque imaginum titulis, dum familia ad se quæque famam rerum gestarum honorumque fallente mendacio trahunt. Indæ certè et singulorum gesta, et publica monimenta rerum confusa. Nec quisquam æqualis temporibus illis scriptor exstat, quo satis certo auctore stetur.*”—*Liv. viii. 40.*

“*Quamquam his laudationibus historia rerumstrarum facta est mendosior. Multa enim scripta sunt in eis, quæ facta non sunt, falsi triumphi, plures consulatus, genera etiam falsa, et ad plebem transitiones, quum homines humiliores in alienum ejusdem nominis infunderentur genus: ut si ego me à M. Tullio, qui patricius consul anno decimo post reges exactos fuit.*”—*Cic., Brutus*, 16.

The Fabii are mixed up with the fables of Hercules. The man who killed Remus, was a Fabius.—*Ovid. Epist. ex Ponto*, iii. 3, v. 100.—For the defeat of the three hundred Fabii, the passage of Fabius Dorso through the Gaulish army, *Livy* refers to Fabius Pictor!—*Livy*, viii. 30.

The following remarks are abridged from *Beaufort*:

Gens Sulpicia, patrician family. In the vestibule of Galba, were seen the portraits of his paternal ancestors, going back to Jupiter, and of the maternal, to Pasiphæ.—*Sueton., Galba*, 2.

Gens Antonia, these were traced back to Antioch, son of Hercules.—*Plutarch, Life of Antony.*

Gens Acilia appears in the 6th century. *Manius*

Acilius Glabrio, the first consul of this house, conqueror of Antiochus at Thermopylæ, was rejected for censor, as being a new man. Afterwards the same family was made out descendants from Æneas. His heroic origin was one of the reasons for which Pertinax counselled the senate to prefer Acilius to him.—Herodian, ii. 10. The same family deriving its name from the Greek *akeomai*, to cure, seems, judging from its medals, to claim also a descent from Æsculapius.—Creuzer, ii. 354.

“Stemmata nobilium deductum nomen avorum,
Glabrio, Aquilini Dardana progenies.”

Anson. in *prof. Burdig.* 24.

Several plebeian houses having risen to the highest dignities, sought ancestors among the kings of Rome. Though Plutarch and Dionysius assign no male children to Numa, the later genealogists give him four sons, Pompo, Calpus, Pinus, and Mamercus, and make them the sources of four illustrious houses.

A medal of the *Pomponia* family bears on its reverse the image and name of Numa; yet this family was plebeian, and Cornelius Nepos, in the life of his friend, Pomponius Atticus, says that this house had always been of the equestrian order. “Pomponius Atticus ab origine ultimâ stirpis romanæ, perpetuo acceptam, à majoribus equestrem obtinuit dignitatem.”

The *Pinaria* family claimed descent not merely from Pinus, but so far back as the time of Evander and Hercules.—*Æneid.*, viii.

From Calpus, came the *Calpurnia* family (vos, ô Pompius sanguis. Hor., *Ars.* See also Plutarch and Festus, verbo *Calpurnii*, the author of the panegyric of Piso, and two medals with the head of Numa. But it was a plebeian family, and only attained the consulate in the year 573, two centuries after access had been given to the plebeians.

From Mamercus, the *Marcia* family, or rather from a daughter of Numa, the mother of Ancus Marcius.—“Marcia sacrifico deductum nomen ab Anco.”—Ovid, *Fast.* vi., 803. This plebeian family no doubt affirmed, in common with many others, that, patrician in its origin, it had only become plebeian by adoption, and to obtain ac-

cess to the tribunate. The members of one branch of this family were called *Marcus Rex*.

C. *Marcus Rutilus*, first plebeian censor, surnamed *Censorinus*. There is a medal of one of his descendants, with the head of Numa and the port of Ostia founded by *Ancus Marcus*. Another with the head of *Ancus*, and an aqueduct, founded by *Ancus Marcus*, restored by the prætor, Q. *Marcus Rex*. Yet the two sons of *Ancus* were banished, according to tradition, for having procured the assassination of the first of the *Tarquins*.

Gens Hostilia, plebeian family, attaining the consulate about the close of the sixth century; a medal of I. *Hostilius Mancinus* with the image of king *Tullus*. Another analogous medal.

There is an allusion to *Servius Tullius* in a medal of the plebeian M. *Tullius Decula*, consul in 672.

On a medal of a P. *Sulpicius Quirinus* (consul substitute in 717; another in 741, of Rome), we see the wolf suckling the two children; yet Tacitus tells us that this family was not even Roman: “Nihil ad veterem et patriam *Sulpiciorum* familiam *Quirinus* pertinuit, ortus apud municipium *Lanuvium*.”—*Annal.* iii. 45.

Gens Memmia, descending from *Mnestes*, a companion of *Æneas*, yet it appears in history with the sixth century; it numbers several tribunes of the people, and does not attain the consulate till the time of *Augustus*.

Perhaps *Virgil* follows the book of Trojan families of *Varro* (*Servius*, *Æn.* v. 704, 117), when he makes the *gens Memmia* descend from *Mnestes*, the *Cluentia* from *Cleanthes*, the *Gegania* from *Gyas*, the *Sergia* from *Sergestus*, the *Nautia* from *Nautes*.

Gens Julia. Medal with the head of *Venus*, or *Æneas* carrying his father.

The *Mucia* family affected to descend from *Mucius Scaevola*. To frame an origin for this surname, it invented a circumstance which *Dionysius* does not mention.

As to the *Licinia* family: “Quæsitæ ea propriæ familiæ laus leviorẽ auctorem *Licinium* facit.”—*Liv.* vii. 9.

The *Furia* family. The famous victory of *Camillus* must have been a fable. The *Livia* family pretended that a *Drusus* recovered the gold from the Gauls. *Suet.* in

Tib. 3. “Drusus, hostium duce Drauso cominus trucidato, sibi posterisque cognomen invenit. Traditur etiam pro prætore ex provinciâ Galliâ etulisse aurum, Senonibus olim in obsidione Capitoliî datum: nec, ut fama est, extortum à Camillo.”—The *Junia* family. Marcus Brutus was purposely made to descend from the antique Brutus on the father’s side, and on the mother’s from Servilius Ahala (Plut.—Cic. *Brutus*, c. 14; Denys. v.) Brutus himself stamped upon his arms, on one side, the head of the elder Brutus, and on the other that of Ahala, with their names. Atticus had undertaken a genealogy of Brutus. Corn. Nep. 18. (As to the medal, see Vaillant, *in gente Junia*, N. 3 et 4, Morell., *tab.* i. n. 2, A.) Yet the elder Brutus left no posterity. The Junii were plebeians, and only attained the consulate when this dignity had been communicated to the plebeians.—“Ubi igitur φιλοτέχνημα illud tuum, quod vidi in Parthenone, Ahalam et Brutum.” Cicero, *Epist. ad Attic.* xii. 40. “Etenim si auctores ad liberandum patriam desiderarentur, Brutos ego impellerem, quorum uterque L. Bruti imaginem quotidie videret, alter etiam Ahalæ.”—Cicero, *Philip.* ii. c. 11.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX I. PAGE 30.

THIS is the opinion of M. Eugene Burnouf, whose authority is of great value on the subject. I am indebted for the majority of the following examples to him, and to M. Eichoff.

<i>Sanskrit.</i>	<i>Latin.</i>	<i>Italian.</i>	<i>French.</i>	<i>Greek.</i>	<i>German.</i>	<i>English.</i>
pitri	pater	padre	père	πατήρ	vater	father
mâtri	mater	madre	mère	μήτηρ, μάτηρ	mutter	mother
bhrâtri	frater	frate, fra-	frère	φράτηρ,	bruder	brother
		tello				
svasri	soror	suore, so-	sœur	....	schwester	sister
		rella				
asmi	sum	sono	je suis	εἰμί, εσμί	....	I am
[bhû	fuo, fio	....	je suis, je	φύω	bin	he]
			deviens			
asi	cs	sci	tu cs	εἶς	....	....
asti	est	è	il est	ἑστί	ist	is
smah	sumus	siamo	nous som-	ἑσμέν	sind	....
			mes			
stha	estis	siete	vous estes	ἔστε	seyd	....
santi	sunt	sono	ils sont	οὖσι, ἐντι	sind	....
ad	edo	....	(je mange)	ἔδω	esse	eat
vid	video	vedo	(je vois, je	εἶ δω	wissen	wit
			sais)			
tan	tendo	tendo	je tends	τείνω	dehne	tend
hrid	cor, cordis,	cuore	cœur	καρδία	herz	heart
djanu	genu	ginocchio	genou	γόνυ	knie	knee
mayâ	mihi	....	à moi	μοί	mir	me
tvam	tu	....	toi	σύ	du	thou
deva	deus	dio	Dieu	θεός, διός	....	....
djana	genus, gens	....	engance	γένος, γενεά	kind	kind, kin
nâman	nomen	nome	nom	ὄνομα	nahme	name
gau	ceva, gaia,	....	(terre, va-	γῆ γαῖα	kuh	cow
	gaius		che)			
nava	novus	nuovo	nouveau	νέος	ncu	new
dvi	duo	due	deux	δύω	zwei	two
tri	tres	tre	trois	τρεῖς	drei	three

Tchatour, quatuor, τεσσαρες, τέτταρες.—Pantcha, quinque, πέντε.
 —Saptan, septem, ἑπτά.—Navan, novem.—Dasha, decem, δέκα.—
 Vimshati, viginti.—Shata, centum, ἑκατόν.

We might multiply these examples infinitely :

Kas, kâ, kam, qui, quæ, quod.—Svas, svâ, svam ; suus, sua, suum.
 —Vidhava, vidua.—Yuvan, juvenis.—Poutra, puer.—Sata, sounou,
 satus, zohn, son.—Nara, vîrah ; vir, heros ; ἀνήρ, ἥρωσ : nero, in

Sabine, signified man, vir, (Varro?)—Manas, *mens*.—Pad, padas; *pes, pedis*; πούς, ποδός.—Danta, *dentes*.—Sveda, *sudor*.—Shvan, *canis, κύων*.—Avi, *ovis*.—Sarpa, *serpens*.—Phulla, *flos*.—Agni, *ignis*.—Uda, water, ὕδωρ; *udus*, humid. — Palala, *palus*.—Mira, *mare*.—Tâpa (heat), *tepidus*.—Mrityou, *mors*; mord.—Marmara, *murmur*.—Toumoula, *tumultus*.—Svana, *sonus*.—Nidhi, *nidus*.—Nao, *navis*.—Dâna, *donum*.—Martya, *mortalis*.—Dina, *dies*.—Loka (the world), *locus*.—Mani (precious stone), *monile*.—Madhya, *medius*.—Pati, *potens*.—Tanou, *tenuis*, dünn.—Mahat, *magnus*, maechtig.—Bala, *validus*.—Na, no ... (with the negative meaning in composition).—Pra, *pro*.—Vahati, *vehit*.—Vamati, *vomit*.—Vartate, *vortitur*.—Dadâmi, *dadasi, dadati*; do, das, dat; δίδωμι, etc.—Tishthati, *stat, ἵστησι*, er steht.

I should not point out the identity of name between the *latini* and the *lausti*, Letts or Lettons, if the vocabulary of this small people were not, of all those of the Indo-germanic tongues, that which nearest approaches the Sanskrit, and consequently, the Latin.

APPENDIX II. PAGE 31.

The most ancient of the tables collected by Marini dates back to the year 146 B.C.; the last to the year of Christ 505. The song of the Arvalian brothers, which we subjoin, is the oldest monument extant of the Latin tongue. The famous Eugubian tables, which, judging from the two last of them, written in Latin letters, contain the ritual form of an Ombrian tribe (Lanzi, Saggio, &c. iii.) cannot be referred to the Latin at all.

Song of the *Fratres Arvales*, (Marini, *tab. xli. Hermann, de doct. met. Numerus saturninus*).

ENOSLASESIVVATEENOSLASESIVVATEENOSLASESIVVATENEVE
LVAERVEMARMASINSIN-CVRREREINPLEORESNEVELVERVEMARMAR
...NSINCVRREREINPLEORESNEVELVERVEMARMARSERSINCVRRE
REINPLEORISSATVR-FVREREMARSLIMEN...ESTABERBER-SATVR
FVFEREMARSLIMENSALLSTABERBER-SATURFVFEREMARS
LIMENSALLSCABERBER...VNISALTERNEIADVOCAPITCONCT
OSSEMYNESALTERNEIADVOCAPITCONCTOSSIMVNISA
LTERNEIADVOCAPIT.....OSENOSMARMORIVVATO
ENOSMARMORIVVATOENOSMARMOR-IVVATOTRIVMPETRIVMPE.
TRIVMPETRIVM.....PE.

Enos, lases juvate :

Neve luerve, Marmar, sirs incurrere in pleoris.

Satur fufere, Mars : limen sali, sta, berber :

Semones alterne, jam duo capit conctos.

Enos, Marmor, juvato.

Triumpe, triumpe.

(*Nos lares, juvate : neve luem, Mamuri, siris incurrere in plures : satur fueris, Mars : limen sali, sta, vevex : semones alterni, jam duo capit cunctos.*)

Gods invoked by the Arvales : Dea-Dia, Janus, Jupiter, Mars, Juno (or genius Deæ-Diæ), Virgines divæ, famuli divi, lares, mater larium, fons, summanus (D. fulminum), Flora, Vesta, Vesta mater, adolanda, commolanda, vel coinquenda et deferunda.—Minerva, salus publica, etc., Plin. xviii., c. ii. 341, Marini.

The songs of the Saliens were called *Axamenta*—See Paulus Versus Saliorum, Janualii, Junonii, Minervii, etc.—Mamurius Veturius, memoria vetus. Varr. V. de L. L., but Plut. and Festus say that this Mamurius was an artist who made for Numa the *Ancilia*, or sacred bucklers, imitated from that which fell from heaven. Perhaps it is but a variation of the word *Mamers*. The Saliens also sang *Maniam matrem lurum, et Luciam volumniam*. Varr. viii.

See further Macrobius, i. ix., de Jano ; Festus Pompeius ; Paulus ex Festo ; Varro, lib. iv., de Ling. Lat., lib. v., lib. vi.

APPENDIX III. PAGE 50.

“The temples of those divinities that are the titular guardians of the city ; as also those of Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva, are to be situated in an elevated place, from whence the greater part of the city is discoverable. The temples of Mercury are placed in the Forum, or in the Emporium, as are those of Isis and Serapis ; those of Apollo and Bacchus are near the theatre ; that of Hercules, in such cities as have no gymnasia or amphitheatres, is to be built near the circus ; that of Mars without the city, but near the camp ; that of Venus also at the gate. For it is written in the doctrines of the Etruscan auspices that the fanes of Venus, Vulcan and Mars should be placed without the walls, that the youths and matrons may not be accustomed to the sight of libidinous pleasures ; and that of Vulcan, being placed without the city, contributes to secure the buildings from fires, by calling out the religious rites and edifices of that god. So when the fane of the god Mars is dedicated without the city, it is thought no civil dissensions will happen therein, but it will be defended from its enemies and the danger of war. The temple of Ceres is also placed without the city, in a place where men do not frequent, except at the time of the sacrifices, for with devotion, chastity, and purity of manner, this temple should be approached. The other deities have their temples situated in places suitable to the forms of their sacrifices. The temples of the immortal gods should

be so disposed, that, if there is no impediment, and the use of the temple permit, the statue which is placed in the cell may seem to look towards the evening region of the heavens; so that those who approach the altar to make their offerings or perform sacrifices, may look toward the sky and to the image which is in the temple. By this means, the temple, the eastern sky, the suppliants and sacrificers making their vows, and the image seeming to rise to behold them, will all be seen at one view. For it is proper that the altar and the god should be disposed to the east."—Vitruvius, i. 7, iv. 5. See Varro, *de Ling. Lat.* vi.

APPENDIX IV. PAGE 50.

This superstition of forms and sacred words is a characteristic feature of the Etruscan and Roman religions. Here are some of these mystic words: to select a vestal, they made use of the word *capere*; the vestals, when they summoned the *rex sacrorum* to the ceremonies, were to say to him: *Vigilasne Deum gens* (*Æneid*, ii.) The general whose duty it was to commence a war, shook the *ancilia* and said: *Mars, Vigila*. Here are other phrases: *sub vos pluco, ob vos sacro*, Festus.—*Verruncent bene—Dies te quinque kulo, Juno novella septem dies te kulo, Juno novella*. Varro, *de Ling. Lat.* See also Cato, c. 83, and *passim*.

The following extract will manifest how much importance was attached to the letter of these formulæ:—

"When he arrived, in consequence of their invitation, he ordered that, as Romulus, on the founding of the city, had obtained the sovereign power by an augury, so the gods should be consulted, in like manner, concerning himself. Accordingly, being conducted into the citadel by an augur, to which profession was annexed, for ever after, by public authority, the honour of performing that solemn office, he sat down on a stone with his face turned towards the south: the augur took his seat at his left hand, with his head covered, holding in his right hand a crooked wand free from knots, which they called *lituus*; then, taking a view towards the city, and the adjacent country, after offering prayers to the gods, he marked out the regions of the sky from east to west; the parts towards the south he called the right, those towards the north, the left; and, in front of him, he set, in his mind, a boundary at the greatest distance that his eye could reach. Then, shifting the *lituus* into his left hand, and laying his right on Numa's head, he prayed in this manner:—'Father, Jupiter, if it is thy will that this Numa Pompilius, whose head I hold, should be king of Rome, display

to us, we beseech thee, clear tokens of the same, within those limits which I have marked out.' He then named the particular auspices which he wished should be sent; and, these having appeared, Numa was declared king, and came down from the consecrated stand."—*Livy*, i. 18.

"It is related, that this person, the head of a family, had a heifer calf of extraordinary size and beauty produced by one of his cows: her horns, which remained for many ages fixed in the porch of the temple of Diana, were a monument of this wonder. The matter was considered in the light of a prodigy, as it deserved, and the soothsayers declared, that sovereignty would reside in that state whose subject should sacrifice this heifer to Diana; and this prediction had reached the ears of the priest who had the charge of Diana's temple. The Sabine, as soon as he had fixed on a proper day for the sacrifice, drove the heifer to Rome, brought her to the temple of Diana, and placed her before the altar; the priest, suspecting the truth, from the size of the victim, of which he had heard so much, and remembering the prediction, addresses the Sabine thus: 'Stranger, what are you preparing to do? To perform sacrifice to Diana without the necessary purification? Why do you not first dip yourself in a running stream? The Tiber flows along in the bottom of that vale.' The stranger, struck with the scruple, and anxious to have everything performed in due order, that the event might answer to the prodigy, went down from the temple to the Tiber. In the meantime, the Roman sacrificed the heifer to Diana, a circumstance which gave great pleasure to the king, and to the whole state."—*Livy*, i. 45.

APPENDIX V. PAGE 51.

Varro, *de L. L.* iv. 32.—"Quà viam relinquebant in muros quà in oppidum portarent, *portas*. Oppida condebant in Latìo, etrusco ritu multa; juncteis bubus, tauro et vacca; interiore aratro circumagebant sulcum. Hoc faciebant religionis caussa die auspicato, ut fossa et muro essent munita. Terram unde exalpserant, *fossam* vocabant; et introrsum factum murum. Postea, quòd fiebat orbis, *urbs*. Principium quod erat post murum, *pomerium* dictum, ejusque ambitu auspicia urbana finiuntur. Cippi pomerii stant, et circum Ardolan(?) Ardeam, et circum Roman. Quare et oppida quæ prius erant circumducta aratro, ab orbe et urbo *urbs*: et ideo coloniæ nostræ omnes in littereis antiquèis scribuntur urbes; quòd item conditæ ut Roma, et ideo coloniæ; ut urbes conduntur quòd primum intra pomerium ponuntur."

APPENDIX VI. PAGE 52.

“*Carum ædium* dictum, qui locus tectus intra parietes relinquebatur patulus, qui esset ad communem omnium usum. In hoc locus si nullus relictus erat, sub divo qui esset, dicebatur *testudo* à testudinis similitudine, ut est in prætorio in castreis. Si relictum erat in medio, ut lucem caperet: deorsum, quò impluebat, *impluvium* dictum: et sursum, qua compluebat, *compluvium*; utrumque à pluvia. *Tuscanicum* dictum à Tusceis, posteaquam illorum cavum ædium simulare cæperunt. *Atrium* appellatum ab Atriatibus tusceis. Illinc enim exemplum sumptum. Circum cavum ædium erant unius cujusque rei utilitatis causa parietibus dissepata: ubi quid conditum esse volebant; à cælando *cellam* appellarunt, *penarium*, ubi penus. Ubi cubabant, *cubiculum*: ubi cænabant, *cœnaculum* vocitabant: ut etiam nunc Lanuvii apud ædem Junonis, et in cetero Latio, ac Faleriis et Cordubæ dicuntur. Posteaquam in superiore parte cœuitare cæperunt; superioris domus universa, cœnacula dicta.”

APPENDIX VII. PAGE 71.

“Also of our labyrinth here, which Porsenna, king of Tuscany, caused to be made for his own sepulchre; and the rather, because you may know that foreign kings were not so vain in expenses; but our princes in Italy surpassed them in vanity; but as there go so many tales and fables of it, which are incredible, I think it good in the description thereof, to use the very words of my author, M. Varro. ‘King Porsenna,’ says he, ‘was interred under the city of Clusium in Tuscany, in which place he left a sumptuous monument, or tomb, built all of squared stone; it was three hundred feet long on every side, and fifty high; within the base thereof, which was also square, he made a labyrinth so intricate, that if a man had entered it without a clue of thread, he could never have found his way out again. Upon this square edifice there stood five pyramids, one at each corner, and one in the centre; these were seventy-five feet square at the base, and each rose to the height of 150 feet, with a stately crest, whence hung by chains cymbals or bells, that sounded as the wind shook them like the ring of bells that was attached of old to the temple of Jupiter at Dodona. These pyramids again supported four other pyramids, 100 feet high, which again sustained five more pyramids, which, according to the story, tapered up to the vast height of 500 feet.’—Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxxvi. 13.

APPENDIX VIII. PAGE 77.

See Festus, Nonius Marc., &c., Varro, *de re Rusticâ*, ii. 11. "Some substitute the juice of the fig-tree and vinegar, for rennet; some likewise make use of what some of the Greeks call *opus*, others *Dakruon*. There is no doubt but that a fig-tree was planted near the temple of the goddess Rumia, by the shepherds, for they usually sacrifice with milk there, instead of wine and sucking beasts; for the teats of animals were called *Rumæ* or *rumcs*, whence lambs are called *subrumi*, sucking."

APPENDIX IX. PAGE 78.

The constitution of Servius Tullius differs from the Greek timocracies, in that it puts more prominently forward the unity of the people. In the latter, the people do not come in arms out of the peaceful pomœrium to give their suffrages. But then, nowhere more than at Rome, was military honour essential to a man's retaining his place in the class to which he belonged.

APPENDIX X. PAGE 84.

The three hundred famous Fabii were probably no more of one race than are the infinite Campbells who bear the name. The Scipios and the Syllas, though connected by the community of the Cornelian name, and by that of the same *sacra gentilitia*, do not appear to have been relations.¹ Cicero makes no express reference to a common descent in his definition of *Gentiles* (C. Topic, 29). *Gentiles sunt qui inter se eodem sunt nomine ab ingenuis oriundi*, quorum majorum nemo servitutem servivit, qui capite non sunt diminuti.

Yet it is likely enough that this possibility of relationship was a question which the various branches of the *gens* did not desire to clear up; the lower, because they took a pride in the idea, the higher, because the effect of the idea constituted their power and their greatness. In one *gens*, the *gens Cludia*, we find, beside

¹ Thus, in German, the terms *vettern*, cousin, schwager, brother-in-law, do not necessarily imply an actual relationship; they are simply familiar names, which the superior accords condescendingly, and the inferior receives with a sort of gratitude.

the patrician Appii, the plebeian family of the Marcelli, which in point of splendour in no degree yielded to the former; we find inferior families connected with the patricians by the ties of clientship, such as that of the Marcus Claudius who claimed Virginia as his slave. Lastly, the *gens* comprehended freedmen and their descendants, in common with the Greek phratries (at Athens, for example, the Codrides, the Eumoepedes, the Butades, &c.; at Chios, the Homerides), the *gentes* of Rome referred their respective origin to a Nero, the Julii to Julius, son of Æneas, the Fabii to a son of Hercules, the Æmilii to a son of Pythagoras, &c.

A certain number of *gentes* combined under the name of a patrician, was called *curia*, from *queir*, *curis*, lance. So in the middle ages, the term *lance* was applied to a party of five or six soldiers under a knight; the chief of the curia was priest and augur for the *gentes* who composed it, as were the chief of the *gens* for his *Gentiles*. The votes were taken by the curia, each man giving his vote. The vote of the curia was composed of those of the *gentes*, each *gens* giving one.—See Lælius Felix in Aulus Gellius.

APPENDIX XI. PAGE 85.

See in the journal of Savigny his curious dissertation on the *Sacra* (vol. ii. 1816). The *sacra privata* were attached to the inheritance, (compare the Indian constitution, Gans, Erbrecht, vol. i.) yet there were exceptions. Cato says, book ii.: *Si quis mortuus est Arpenatis, ejus hæredem sacra non sequuntur.* (?) The *sacra* could only be modified by the authority of the pontiff; Cic., *pro domo suâ*, 51. Festus: *Publica sacra quæ publico sumptu pro populo fiunt, quæque pro montibus, pagis, curiis, sacellis.* At *privata, quæ pro singulis hominibus, familiis, gentibus fiunt.* For the meaning of *montibus* and *pagis*, see Festus, voc. *Septimontio*; Varro, *De l. L.* v. 3: *Dies septimontium nominatus ab heis septem montibus in quæis sita urbs est. Feriæ, non populi, sed montanorum modo, ut paganalibus* (read, *paganalia eorum*), *qui sunt alicujus pagi.* Cic., *pro domo suâ*, c. 28. *Nullum est in hac urbe collegium, nulli pagani, aut montani (quoniam plebi quoque urbanæ majores nostri conventicula et quasi consilia quædam esse voluerunt. . .)* These corporations seem analogous to our parishes. Each made a sacrifice for the prosperity of all.—*Pro curiis.* . . . , the more limited portion of the patrician community; *sacra curiarum*, of each curie, for the prosperity of all. . . *pro sacellis, id est, pro gentibus*; according to Niebuhr, the

gens is a part of the curie, formed not only of families, but of communities. *Curie* signifies both the community and its place of assembling. *Sacellum* was, doubtless, the place of religious meeting for each *gens*: Cicer., *de Harusp. responsis*, c. 15. Multi sunt etiam in hoc ordine qui sacrificia gentilitia, illo ipso in sacello facitarent.—*Sacra familiarum*, the same thing with *sacra singulorum*. At a later period, after the fall of the republic, *gens* and *familia* became identical. Pliny, H. n., xxxiv., 38, says: *Sacra Servie familie*. Macrobi., *Saturn.*, 1, 16, *sacra familie Claudie, Emilie, Julie, Cornelia*, and an ancient inscription names an *Æditus* and a *Sacerdos Sergie familie*.—*Publica sacra*, in two acceptations: 1. *popularia*, for the whole people (*Festus*, *voc. popularia*); 2. for all classes of the people (*Montes, Pagi, Curie, Gentes*), Liv., v. 52. *An gentilitia sacra ne in bello quidem intermittere, publica sacra et romanos deos etiam in pace deseri placet?*

As to the transmission of the *sacra*, see, more especially, Cicero, *de Legibus*, ii. 19, 20, n. As to the *detestatio alienatio sacrorum* and the *manumissio sacrorum causa*, see Gellius, xv. 27. *Festus*, *voc.*, *Manumitti*. Cicero complains (*pro Murenâ*, c. 12) of the subtleties by which the priests, who were also pontiffs, eluded the law, and facilitated the extinction of the *sacra*. *Sine sacris hereditus*, a proverbial expression, meaning unmixed happiness.

APPENDIX XII. PAGE 86.

If Romulus divided the 30 curies into decades, each curia comprising 10 houses, the 300 Roman houses are in the same relation with the days of the civil year, as the 360 Athenian houses with those of the solar year (300 for 304, as 360 for 365.)

The 300 senators, of whom each was the decurion of his *gens*, no doubt represented the 300 *gentes*. The 30 senators of Sparta, the 30 *papai* of the modern Suliotes; the 30 dukes of the Lombards, the 30 houses of the Dithmarsians, answer to the 30 days of the month. The 28 *Alberghi*, or political families, into which Andrea Doria distributed the old native families of Genoa; the three patrician families of Cologne, each composed of fifteen families; finally, the *Schiette* (*Schlect*, low German for *Geschlecht*, race), into which the citizens of the Italian towns were divided, present associations analogous with those of the *gentes*, and numerical divisions analogous with those of the curies.

At Athens, 12 cities, distributed into 12 demes, 12 phratries,

4 other divisions. Areopagus at first, 12 gods, 12 phratries, 30 *gentes*; Amphyctionic assembly, 360 heads of families.

The wild sow seen by Æneas, in the place where Rome afterwards arose, had 30 young ones; the Latin confederation was composed of 30 towns. From the name of 30 Sabines, Romulus established 30 curies, each formed of 10 *gentes*, which, represented by their several chiefs, would give 300 senators. The three tribes of Rome were extended to 31 by Servius.

Let us assemble here a few other illustrations of the predilection of Rome for the same numbers: 12 vultures appear to Romulus, expressing by their numbers the 12 centuries which the Etruscan prophecies promised to the city, so the celebrated augur, Vittius, explained the matter in the time of Varro (Varro, xviii.) The 12 centuries were to be completed in A.D. 591, the period of the extermination of the old families by Totila, and of the submission of Rome to the Greek exarchs. Alba endured 300 years before the foundation of Rome. The history of Rome herself, up to the taking of the city by the Gauls, divides itself, according to Fabius Pictor, into two periods: the first twice the duration of the second; 240 years under the kings, 120 after; in each third of 120 years, we find 10 multiplied by 12. The cyclic year, instituted by Romulus, was divided into 38 nundines; Romulus reigned 38 years, Numa 39; 39, in mysterious numbers, equivalent to three times ten and three times three. Numa established 9 corporations of artisans. The *gens Potitia*, entrusted with the sacrifices to Hercules, was composed of 12 families, and (towards 440) of 30 adult men. Add, the 3 Horatii who give to Rome the victory over Alba; the 3 warriors who defend the Sublician bridge against the army of Porsenna; lastly, the 300 young patricians who vow with Scævola the death of the king of Clusium; the 300 Fabii who perish in combating the Veians, &c.

APPENDIX XIII. PAGE 94.

In 446, an opportunity presented itself of enlarging the Roman territory; the towns of Ardea and Aricia, disputing the title to some lands, appointed the Roman people umpire. An old Roman soldier rising, said:—"Young men, you do not recollect the time when this territory belonged to the Roman people, but I do, and I tell you that it is neither the territory of Ardea nor of Aricia, but of Rome;" whereupon the people applauded, and adjudged the district to themselves. The senate, indignant at this act of perfidy, promised the Ardeans reparation. They

could not abrogate the decree of the people; but four years afterwards they sent to Ardea a colony entirely composed of Ardeans, who thus resumed possession of their territory. See in Livy, iv. 9, a charming story, which directly recalls to our mind those of the middle ages, the rivalry of the Montagues and Capulets, &c. *Virginem plebeii generis maxima formâ notam*, &c.

While the Romans were repairing their injustice, a new enemy arose behind them. Fidenæ went over to the party of the Veians. The Veians, it is said, had at this time a king, Lars Tolumnius, (lars means king.) This king was, however, nothing more than a lucumon, to whom the citizens by reason of the war had confided unlimited authority. He orders the Fidenates to slay the Roman ambassadors who had come to complain of the revolt of Fidenæ. Hence arises a furious war against the Veians, Fidenates, and Faliscans. A single combat takes place between Cornelius Cossus and Tolumnius. The defeat of Tolumnius involves that of his army; the Veians and Faliscans, put to flight, implore the aid of the twelve Etruscan towns; it is refused them, but they find powerful auxiliaries in the Equians and Volscians, the determined enemies of Rome. These people seek to excite the ardour of their soldiers by the most sinister ceremonials. *Lege sacrata delectu habito in Algidum convenere*, says Livy. He does not explain what we are to understand by the *lex sacrata*, but it must have had some relation to the mysterious and awful ceremonies which the Samnites employed when they formed the *legio lini*. The Equians are defeated by Posthumius and Fabius. The generals themselves almost solely decide the victory. We here meet with a Posthumius as at the battle of the lake Regillus, a Fabius as at that of Veii. Posthumius condemns his son to death for having fought out of his ranks, as at a later period Manlius was to condemn his.

Having got rid of the Equians, the Romans turned their arms against the Fidenates. The latter rushed on with burning torches, dismal vociferations, and the aspect of furies. The Romans were at first alarmed, but, urged on by their generals, they turned the fires of Fidenæ against itself and burned it.

Etruria received in the following year a still more severe blow from the hands of another people. Volturnus was taken by the Sabines, who changed its name into that of Capua. The loss of two such important towns stopped the proceedings of the Etruscans; but the Equians and Volscians were not discouraged; they were once, indeed, upon the point of exterminating the Roman army. It owed its preservation solely to the valour of the decurion Tempanus, who diverted all the efforts of the hostile army upon himself. We meet with this self-devotion several times in the course of the accepted *History of Rome*,

which, indeed, as a general thing, exhibits a melancholy uniformity. Somewhat later, Servilius is defeated by the Equians, and his father repairs the disaster. We find an exactly similar circumstance related a few years further on: Fabius Ambustus, in just the same way, remedies the defeat of his son. An anecdote impressed with a greater character of truth, is that of Posthumus Rhegellensis. He penetrates the country of the Equians, takes Vola, and prevents a colony being sent there. A mutiny breaks out in the army. The general punishes the chief mutineers by drowning them under hurdles. The army assembles tumultuously, and Posthumus is stoned. The punishment resorted to by Posthumus was only in use among the barbarians.

The same year the Romans obtained great advantages over the Equians and Volscians. In 412, they took the city of Anxur, the spoils of which enriched all the Roman soldiers. Rome, mistress of the two capitals of the Volscians, Anxur and Antium, turned her arms against Veii, the most considerable of the Etruscan cities in that quarter.

APPENDIX XIV. PAGE 94.

"There shall be peace between the Romans and the cities of Latium, so long as heaven and earth shall subsist," &c.—Dionys. i. The treaty established between the two parties, the bond of a military federation. At first ten towns, then thirty, and afterwards forty-seven, sent deputies to the Latin Fœderæ. The places of meeting were, in the first instance, Mount Albano, and Ferentinum, with the Hernici. As Rome acquired the ascendancy, the Roman prætors held the meeting, and it then took place on Mount Aventine, or in the Capitol itself. The *jus Latii* consisted in the *connubium* or right of marriage between the two peoples, and in the *commercium*, which included the *vindicatio* and *cessio in jus*, the *mancipatio*, and the *nexum*. See the excellent *Institutiones* of Haubold, with the additions of C. E. Otto, Lipsiæ, 1826.

APPENDIX XV. PAGE 95.

Varro de Ling. Lat. iv. 4. "As our augurs publicly said, the sorts of lands are five: *Romanus*, *Gabinus*, *Peregrinus*, *Hosticus*, *Incertus*. *Romanus*, whence Rome, from Romulus; *Gabinus*, from the city Gabii; *Peregrinus*, from *Pergendo*, i. e. *progriendo*,

advancing beyond the Roman lands. The *ager Romanus* was first divided into three parts, *Tatiensium, Romanum, Lucerum*. These were called: *Tatienses* from Tatio, *Ramnenses* from Romulo, *Luceres*, according to Junius, from lucumon. But all these words are Tuscan, as we are informed by Volumnius, who wrote Tuscan tragedies. Afterwards, the *ager Romanus* was divided into *Suburana, Equilana, Collina, Palatina, and Romilia*."

"From henceforth free, the first arms which the Roman people took were against foreigners for the maintenance of their liberty; secondly, for their territorial bounds; thirdly, for their allies; lastly, for glory and dominion, their neighbours round about daily provoking them. For indeed, they had in the beginning no land of their own lying about the city, but immediately outside their own gates the enemy's territories began, and being situate in the midst between Latium and the Tuscans, as it were in a meeting-point, they could nowhere issue out of the city but they were on hostile ground; till by degrees, running like a kind of contagion through every one of them, and still seizing upon such as came next, they at last reduced all Italy under their subjection. Sora (who would believe it?) and Algidus, were then a terror to Rome; Satricum and Corniculum were provinces. Verulum and Bovillæ, it is a shame to speak—however, we triumphed. Tibur, now a suburb, and Præneste, now a summer retreat, were then prayed of the gods as great matters. 'Twas the same with Fæsulæ then, as with Carræ lately; the Ancinian Wood, as the Hercinian Forest now, Fregellæ as Gesonacum, the Liris as the Euphrates. It was held such a glory to have conquered Corioli that, I blush to recal it, Caius Marcius was therefore called Coriolanus, as though he had conquered Numantia in Africa. There are still extant the trophies which Mænius took from the enemy's fleet at Antium, if that could be called a fleet which numbered only six rostrata. But in those days such a number made a navy." Florus, i. 9, 11.

See Dionysius, iv., v. Sigonius has comprehended Dionysius more accurately than Corradini; he limits old Latium, excluding from it both the Volsci and the Hernici. Justus says they called *Prisci latini qui fuerunt prius quam Roma conderetur*.

APPENDIX XVI. PAGE 95.

Niebuhr has endeavoured to restore in the following manner the famous agrarian law of Licinius Stolo: "*For the Future* : 1. The limits of the Roman people must be fixed. 2. Lands which

individuals have usurped from this dominion, *shall be resumed by the state*; those, the property in which is uncertain, *shall be sold*. (Dionys. viii. 76.) All holdings which do not exceed the quantity prescribed by the law, and which have been legally acquired, shall be secured to the owner towards and against all persons. 3. Every citizen shall be entitled to claim to possess by cultivation any land newly conquered that has not been left in the hands of the former possessor, or divided among the people of the district, or otherwise colonized. 4. The measure is 500 acres in common pasturage, 100 head of great and 500 of small cattle. In case of dispute, appeal to the *ædiles*. 5. The possessor must pay to the republic the tenth of plantations and vineyards, and a fifth of the produce of cattle, great and small. 6. The censors to farm out these lands for five years to the highest bidder. The farmers must give security to the state. In case of their being unfortunate, the senate may remit to them the sums due to the state. The revenue must be appropriated to the pay of the army. 7. No cattle to be taken to the common pasturage without being noted by the farmers, under penalty of being confiscated to the state. (Cicero, *Verr. Frum.*, c. 11. Varro, *de re Rust.*) The possessors are called upon to employ free men in the cultivation of the common lands in proportion to their possession.

“For the present. Whatever land any individual possesses at this time beyond 500 acres, shall be distributed among the people in lots of 7 acres each. The people shall elect *decemvirs* for the execution of this law. This *plebiscitum* shall be sworn to by both classes as a fundamental law.”

APPENDIX XVII. PAGE 95.

See as to *Coloniæ* and *Municipia*; Ligorius, *de jure Italico*; Gæsius, *Scriptores rei Agrariæ*; Beaufort, *Republique Romaine*; Bouchard, in the *Memoires de l'Institut*; Heyne, *Opuscula*, iii.; Creuzer, *Abriss der Römischen Antiquäten*; Aulus Gellius, xvi. 13; Servius, *ad Æn.* xii.; Cicero, *De Legibus*, ii. iii. 16; Festus, *in verbis*; Nepos, *Attici vitâ*; Cicero, *pro Balbo*; Sic. Flaccus, 19, 23, 24, 25.

APPENDIX XVIII. PAGE 95.

I quote the following from Gæsius, p. 31:—“Cicero, *Agrariâ secundâ recenset pullarios, apparitores, scribas, librarios, præ-*

cones, architectos, janitores, vel, ut legunt alii, finitores...nec miror flagitatos à Cicerone finitores ducentos. Hic ergo finitor idem est qui in jure vulgo dicitur mensor, mensor agrorum et agrimensor, atque in veteri inscriptione mensor agrarius, in Frontinianis mensor agris limitandis metiundis, Frontino de aquæductibus metitor, Ciceroni metator et decempedator, Servio limitator; Simmacho rector, Isidoro censitor, Symplicio inspector, et aliis ex nostris auctoribus agens et artifex et professor, anonymo ministerialis inperatorum, variis legibus arbiter, et Alfeno, arbiter aquæpluviæ arcendæ. Theodosii et Valentiniani lege dicitur: quoniam qui non fuit professus super hac lege jubemus damnari; si sine professione judicaverit, capitali sententiâ feriatur. Quod ideo factum ut et de agentibus in rebus rescriptum est in C. Th. l. 4. Ut probandus adsistat qualis moribus sit, unde domo, quam artis peritiam adsecutus sit. Fuere enim in eo ordine viri non tantum eruditi, sed etiam graves et splendidi, ut fuere Longinus, Frontinus et Balbus, qui temporibus Augusti omnium provinciarum formas et civitatum mensuras in commentarios contulit. An autem is idem sit quem Cicero dicit juris et officii peritissimum haud facile dixerò. Præter juris-peritos autem et alii huic ordini fuere inserti qui sese belli studiis applicaverant, qualis ille Cilicius Saturnius, centurio, de quo mentionem fecimus, et Vectius Rufinus primipilus de quibus mentio in Frontinianis, et forte Octavianus Musca, de quo Servius ad Eclogam novam."

APPENDIX XIX. PAGE 96.

Cicero, de Oratore. *Qui Romam in exilium venisset cui Romæ exulare jus esset.* Exile, observes Niebuhr, after Cicero, was not banishment, which was entirely unknown to the Roman law; it was simply a renunciation of the freedom of his own city, by a man taking up his *municipal* franchise. If before the sentence the accused made himself a municeps, he became the citizen of a foreign state, and the sentence was of no effect, the ground of exemption being, that he had attached himself in time to a city which had sworn a treaty of isopolity with Rome. Catiline in Sallust, calls Cicero: *Inquilinis civis*, as though Arpinum had been still a municipium foreign to Rome.

APPENDIX XX. PAGE 97.

The plebeian Volero Publius. Livy adds, very unnecessarily, *de plebe homo*, and *prævalens ipse*, *Volesius*, *Valerius*, *Volero*,

from *Valendo*. Volero is an augmentative, parodying the patrician name of Valerius. Publius, a patrician surname, as Trierias, in the Satires of Horace, tells us, is doubtless also intended ironically. Volero is created tribune with Lætorius. *Lætorius ferocem faciebat belli gloria ingens, quod ætatis ejus, haud quisquam manu promptior erat.* They propose that the plebeian magistrates should be elected in the comitia by tribes. *Quæ rei patriciis omnem potestatem per clientum suffragia creandi quos vellent tribunos auferri.* Lætorius says: *Quando quidem non elam facile loquor, quintries, quam quod locutus sum præsto, crastino die adeste; ego hic aut in conspectu vestro moriar aut perferam legem.* Appius sends his *lictor* to arrest Lætorius, Lætorius his *viator* to arrest Appius; the latter is removed by his adherents, *lex silentio perfertur.*

APPENDIX XXI. PAGE 98.

“Ambassadors were sent to Athens to collect the laws of Solon and those of other states. . . . The direction of the whole business of government was lodged in the hands of Appius Claudius, through the favour of the people. . . . Each of them administered justice one day in ten. On that day, the twelve fasces attended him who presided in the court of justice. . . . They ordered the people to go and read the laws which were exhibited. . . . Having, by means of a coalition, foiled the pretensions of the two Quintii, Capitolinus and Cincinnatus. . . . One hundred and twenty lictors filled the forum, and carried axes bound up with the fasces, alleging, that as by the term of their appointment there lay not any appeal from them. . . . They agreed not to interfere with each other's decrees. . . . The laws were taken from the assemblies by centuries. Lucius, Valerius, Politus, and Marcus Horatius Barbatus, called the decemvirs Ten Tarquinii, and put them in mind, that the Valerii and Horatii were among the foremost in effecting the expulsion of the kings. . . . Appius ordered a lictor to advance to Valerius. . . . Icilius, who had been tribune, a man of spirit. . . . As Virginia came into the forum (for the schools of learning were held there in sheds), this minister of the decemvir's lust laid hands upon her. . . . He (Virginius) drew the maiden aside to the sheds near the temple of Cloacina, and, snatching a knife from a plebeian's shed . . . they posted themselves on the Aventine. (Icilius learning that ten military tribunes have been appointed on the Aventine, appoints ten others in the city, and the twenty select two). . . . The commons removed from the Aven-

tine to the sacred mount; they threatened to burn the decemvirs alive. . . . A decree of the senate was made, that the decemvirs should, without delay, resign their office. That Quintius Fabius, chief pontiff, should hold an election of plebeian tribunes. . . . 'Go to the Aventine, whence ye removed; in that auspicious place, where ye took the first step towards liberty, ye shall elect tribunes of the commons.' . . . Then, under the direction of an interrex, Lucius Valerius and Marcus Horatius were elected consuls. . . . First of all, a law was enacted in an assembly of the centuries, "that whatever was ordered by the commons collectively should bind the whole people. . . . In those times it was not the custom, as it has been since, to call a consul judge, but prætor. . . . A regulation was also made by the same consuls, that the decrees of the senate should be deposited with the plebeian ædiles in the temple of Ceres." (Livy, iii., *passim*.)

This history of the decemvirs presents infinite improbabilities: first, the public favour in which Appius is represented: for an Appius to become thus popular seems very remarkable. The people do not so readily forget their hatreds. Again: the decemvirs are said to have publicly exhibited the Tables of the Laws, in order that the people might read and criticise them, whereas it is well understood that at this period scarcely a single person in Rome could read at all. Here, also, we recognise the hand of the Greeks, making all the Romans to be a literate people, like the Athenians. A third remarkable circumstance is, that the Quintii who, both before and after the decemvirate, figure in the foremost rank of the aristocracy, do not appear among the decemvirs. All the colleagues of Appius are men with obscure names. Like the military tribunes, they rise from the earth and return to it. We know not who they are. The first opposition in this story emanates from the senate, and, what is very remarkable again, the two consuls who overthrow the decemvirate bear the same names with those who confirmed the republic; Valerius and Horatius. Livy himself noticed this coincidence: *Decem Tarquinius appellantem admonentemque Valeriis et Horatiis ducibus pulsos reges*. Who can say that the consuls here in question are not the same with the elder consuls, or that the decemvirs are not, in point of fact, the kings? Virginia is a second Lucretia. The royal laws are often attributed by historians to the decemvirs. The whole subject is involved in the utmost obscurity.

The Greek hand is manifest in the history of Virginia. *Virgini Venienti in Foro, namque ibi ludi erant*. This would imply that the Romans were quite a literate people, whereas all we know of them proves just the contrary. The rudeness of the characters employed in the inscriptions manifests that their writing was by no means in an advanced state, whereas all those

of ancient Greece are written in characters of singularly beautiful form. Livy assigns Virginia a nurse, which is altogether a Greek custom. At Rome there were no nurses. The Roman matrons tended their own children. The historian says that the knife with which Virginius stabbed his daughter was snatched from a butcher's stall, whereas it is extremely doubtful whether there were any butchers' stalls in Rome.

APPENDIX XXII. PAGE 99.

The mission into Greece is probable enough, but there is no trace in the Twelve Tables of any imitation of the laws of Athens. In the latter city, the husband was a protector and not a master. He did not give money for his wife to her father; on the contrary, he received money with her. The wife bringing a certain portion into the house of her husband, enjoyed a certain degree of independence. Separation was an easy affair, requiring but a very slight formula. The wife could bring an accusation against her husband, as well as the husband against the wife. The father had no power to kill his son; he might only refuse to bring him up. If, at the birth of a son, the father did not lift him from the ground, he was sold for a slave. The father, it is true, might kill his daughter, if she were taken in adultery, and he might repudiate his son, and validly declare that he no longer recognised him. At Rome this repudiation was not permitted; after a while, emancipation was introduced at Rome, but this was no abdication of the paternal authority. According to the constitution of Athens, the son, on coming of age, might call for an inquiry into his father's state of mind, and whether he was competent to retain the management of his affairs. The *furiosus* and the *prodigus* were placed under restraint at Rome, but only upon the decision of a family council. At twenty years of age the young Athenian was inscribed on the list of the phratry; he was regarded as the chief of a family, and became entirely independent of his father. At Rome we find a father putting to death his son, though a consul and a conqueror. At Athens, the father did not inherit from the son; ascendants could not inherit. At Rome, too, the father did not inherit, but for this reason: the son had nothing of his own to leave. At a later period, however, the peculium was introduced, the right of possession by permission of the father. In a word, there was a thorough opposition between the Attic law and the Roman law; the one went on the doctrine of absolute dependence, the other on that of excessive liberty. See Vico upon this subject, in his treatise, *De Constantia jurisprudentis*, 1721.

APPENDIX XXIII. PAGE 99.

Extant Fragments of the Laws of the Twelve Tables.

These fragments have been collected from various authors. They are written in an old Roman idiom, and in a very brief style. Their arrangement is by no means certain; but that which is here followed is by the very learned Jacques Godefroy, and his commentary has been followed in supplying the sense of a fragment when imperfect.

TABLE 1.

If any one call another into court, the latter must go; and if he refuse, let there be witnesses of the summons, and then let him be taken. If he hesitate, or attempt to fly, lay hands upon him. If he be hindered by disease or age, let the caller furnish him with a mule, but the caller shall not be obliged to supply a covered carriage. If a surety answer for his appearance, he may be released from arrest. The surety for a wealthy person must be wealthy; for a poor person, any one may be surety. If the parties, on their way to the court, come to an agreement, it shall be valid. If they do not agree, the cause may be heard in the forum or assembly before noon, both parties being present. If only one appear by mid-day, judgment may be given in the afternoon, or at latest by sunset.

TABLE 2.

When both parties give sureties to abide judgment at a future day, they must then appear, unless prevented by a dangerous illness, or by the performance of a solemn vow, or by business of the state elsewhere, or by a previous engagement with a foreigner; but, in these cases, the judge or arbitrator must defer proceeding till a future day.

He who needs the testimony of a person as a witness, must go for three days to that person's door, to summon him to attend.

If a theft be committed in the night time, and the person robbed kill the thief, the killing is justified. If a theft be committed in the day time, and the thief be taken in the act, he shall be beaten with rods, and delivered over to the person robbed as a slave. If the thief be a slave, he shall be beaten with rods, and hurled from a rock. If he be a boy, he shall be beaten with rods at the discretion of the judge, and restitution shall be made of the property stolen. If a thief defend himself with any weapon, let the person robbed call on some one to witness that fact, and if he then kill the thief, the killing is justifiable. If a theft be committed by persons who come to search a house, it

shall be punished as open theft. If a private theft be proved, the thief shall forfeit double the amount. If one illegally cut down another's trees, he shall pay for each tree 25 pounds of copper. If a person robbed compound with the thief, he shall have no action against him. No one can gain by long possession the ownership of a thing which he has stolen.

TABLE 3.

If any one commit a fraud in regard to a thing deposited in his care, he shall forfeit double the amount. If any one take more than twelve per cent. interest on a loan, he shall forfeit four times the amount. A foreigner can gain no property in a thing by long possession. If one confess a debt, or be adjudged to pay it, he shall be allowed 30 lawful days to make payment; after that time he may be arrested, and brought into court. If he then do not pay, or find somebody to pay for him, the creditor may take him away, and bind him with cords or with fetters, which must not be more than 15 pounds weight, but may be less. The debtor, if he please, may feed himself, if not, the creditor must allow him a pound of bread a day, or more if he thinks fit. If the parties do not then come to any agreement, the creditor may keep the debtor sixty days in chains, and in the course of that time shall present him for three successive fair days, at intervals of nine days, and publicly notify the debt. If there be more creditors than one, after the three fair days, they may divide the debtor, or sell him beyond the Tiber.

TABLE 4.

A father may kill, at its birth, a child monstrously deformed. He shall have a right of life and death over all his lawful children, and also of selling them. If a father sell his child thrice, the child shall afterwards be free from him. If a child be born to him within ten months after his death, it is a lawful child.

TABLE 5.

Howsoever a father of a family directs by will, as to his property, or the guardianship of his children, such shall be the law. But if he dies without a will, and has no direct heir, the nearest male relation on the father's side shall have the property; and if there be no such relation, then the heir of race shall take it. If a freedman die without a will, and without leaving a direct heir, but there be a patron, or children of a patron, the property shall be transferred from the family of the freedman, to the family of the patron, or nearest relation of the patron. Debts and credits shall be brought into a mass, and divided among the heirs according to their proportions of the heritage. If the heirs wish to

divide other parts of the property, there shall be appointed for that purpose, three arbitrators. If a father of a family die intestate, and leave a direct heir under the age of puberty, the nearest male relation, by the father's side, shall take the guardianship. If any one be mad or a prodigal, and have no custodiar, both he and his property shall be put under the care of his male relations by the father's side, and failing them, of his relations by race.

TABLE 6.

When any man transfers property by sale or delivery, as the tongue expresses (the terms), such shall be the law. If he contravene it, he shall forfeit double the amount. If any one sell a person contingently entitled to freedom, as a mere slave, on delivery to the purchaser, he shall become free. A thing sold and delivered to the purchaser, does not become his property till it is paid for. The property of a piece of land is acquired by use in two years, that of other things in one year. A woman who passes a year with a man as his wife, not having absented herself for three nights, is acquired as a wife, by use. If two parties join issue in court, let the (interim) decree be in favour of the possessor; but if the issue be as to personal freedom, let such decree be in favour of freedom. If a piece of timber be fixed by one man into the house or vineyard of another, let it not be taken out or loosed; but he who so fixed it must pay double damage. If timbers be loose and moveable, they may be lawfully claimed. If a husband wish to send a bill of divorce to his wife, he must specify a legal ground of divorce.

TABLE 7.

If a quadruped cause any harm, the master of the beast should offer payment of the damage: if he declines so to do, he must give the animal which has done the injury. If any one has intentionally caused harm—(a blank)—but if he has done so by chance, he must compensate it. He who has by incantation blasted another's corn, or who has privily by night fed down or cut up arable produce, shall be put to death, by hanging him as a victim to Ceres; but if he be a boy he shall be whipped, and forfeit double the damage done. He who has turned his cattle into another man's field to graze—(a blank). He who has wilfully and maliciously set fire to a house, or to a stack of corn piled up against a house, shall be bound, beaten with rods, and burnt alive; but if he has done so accidentally, he shall compensate the loss; if unable to make compensation, let him be slightly chastised. He who slightly insults another shall be fined 25 pounds of copper. If any one publicly defame another, or make verses to his disgrace, or injury, let him be beaten with a stick. If he break another's limb, unless he can settle with him, he shall undergo

retaliation. If he break the jawbone of a freeman he shall pay 300 pounds of copper, if of a slave, 150. If any one having been present as witness, or as scaleholder, shall refuse to testify thereto, let him be deemed infamous and unworthy of credit; if he bear false testimony, let him be thrown from a rock. If any one knowingly and maliciously put a freeman to death, or use evil incantations against him, or administer poison to him, let him be deemed a murderer. If any one kill a parent, let his head be bound round with a cloth, and then let him be sewed up in a sack, and thrown into a river. If a guardian act fraudulently (to his ward) any one may accuse him, and when his guardianship is ended he shall pay double damages. If a patron act fraudulently to his client, let him be held accursed.

TABLE 8.

Let there be an interval of two feet and a half between the wall of one house and that of another. Members of a private association may make such bye-laws as they please, so that they do not injure the public. As to the boundaries of fields (a blank, but probably the law resembled that of Solon, allowing an interval of five feet.) As to gardens, small farms, and cottages (these are also blanks.) If a tree in one neighbour's ground overhang the next neighbour's land, let the boughs, above 15 feet high, be lopped. If the fruit from it fall into the ground of the latter, he may lawfully take it to himself. If rain water be turned away by an artificial channel, so as to cause injury, let three estimators be appointed to estimate the damage, and let the fabricator give security (to the other party) to make good the injury. Let a straight road be eight feet in breadth, and sixteen at a turning. If roadside fields are left without inclosure, any one may drive cattle over them.

TABLE 9.

Let there be no exceptional laws in favour of individuals. Let there be the same law to the obligor and obligee, to the constant ally, and to him who has been restored to an alliance formerly violated. If a judge or arbitrator lawfully appointed take a bribe for his decision, let it be a capital offence. Let no capital punishment be pronounced against a Roman citizen except in the Great Assembly of the people. Let inquisitors of murder be created by the people to inquire into capital crimes. If any persons collect nightly meetings in the city, let it be a capital offence. If any one incite an enemy (against Rome) or betray, or deliver up to the enemy, a citizen, let it be a capital offence.

TABLE 10.

Let not a dead man be buried or burnt within the city. Abolish expense and mourning in the funeral ceremonies, sacred to the

infernal deities. Let the cost not exceed the sum of —— (a blank). Let not the funeral pile be made of carved wood. Let there be no more than three mourning women, and ten flute-players. Let not the women tear their cheeks, nor use loud howlings at a funeral. Let not the separate bones of a dead man be preserved for a second funeral, except in the case of one killed in battle, or in an enemy's country. Let the anointing of slaves, and the handing round of liquors be abolished. Let no perfumed liquids be sprinkled on the deceased. Let no long garlands nor altars covered with perfumes be carried before the corpse. But if the deceased has gained a crown of honour by his bravery, let the praise of himself and his ancestors be celebrated, and let it be lawful that the crown be placed before the corpse, both within doors and when it is carried forth. Let not several funerals be made for one man, nor many couches be spread. Let no gold be used, but if any one has had his teeth fastened in with gold, let it be lawful to bury or burn that gold with the body. Let no funeral pile nor sepulchre be erected within 60 feet of another person's house, against his will. Let the sepulchre and its vestibule be for ever incapable of becoming private property.

TABLE 11.

Let that which the people has last ordained be settled law. Let there be no right of marriage between the patricians and the plebeians. As to the right of perpetuating the sacred rites of a family—(blank.)

TABLE 12.

As to pawns—(a blank). If any one dedicate to sacred uses a thing which is in litigation, let him be fined in double the value. If any one has obtained possession of land by falsehood, the prætor (having jurisdiction) over the thing or action shall appoint three estimators, and at whatsoever value they shall estimate the profits (received by the *malâ fide* possessor), the latter shall be condemned in double the amount. If a slave, with his master's knowledge, has committed a theft or done an injury, he shall be given up (to the complainant) as forfeited.

See as to these tables, Festus, *verb. nuncupata*, *struere*, *portum*, *reus*; Aulus Gellius, ii. 18; xvii. 2; xx. *passim*; Pliny, xvii. xviii. *passim*; Gaius, *Instit.* iii.; Cicero, *De Officiis*; *De Legibus*, *passim*; Dirksen, *Übersicht der bisherigen versuche sur kritik und herstellung des textes der Zwölf tafel-fragmente*. Leipzig, 1824. See also the vast compilation of Bouchaud, 1803.

We will place in the category of the more ancient laws the following:

The Forum of the Tomb (*i. e.* the space surrounding it to a certain distance) may not become the property of any one by

whatever prescription.—Between all properties there shall be a space of five feet, a sacred and imprescriptible law.—Roads shall be eight feet wide, and at turnings sixteen.—If a spring or conduit passing through a public place, is injurious to an individual, he shall be entitled to seek compensation and amendment.—Trees growing over another man's lands, shall be lopped to the height of fifteen feet.—He who plants a hedge, must not exceed the limits of his own ground. He who builds a wall, must leave the space of one foot between it and the limit of his ground.—He who digs a grave, must leave a space around it as wide as the grave is deep.—Around every well you must leave open the space of five feet.—The olive tree, and the fig tree, must not be planted nearer the public road than nine feet; other trees must be planted at a distance not less than five feet.

(Siculus Flaccus tells us, that originally tombs were the boundary-stones of fields. The space of five feet between men's grounds was a religious interval.) If any one takes wood belonging to you to prop up his house or vine, you must not remove it.

I will add, from Dirksen, the laws which have been attributed to the kings of Rome.

Old customs have been called laws of Romulus, especially in cases where, according to the Classic writers, Numa Pompilius is described as having confirmed or altered existing institutions. The various passages of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and Plutarch, which assign particular laws or particular institutions, political and religious, to Romulus, have been translated, commented, and twisted about in all sorts of ways, by writers of the sixteenth century, by Merula, Charandos, Hoffmann, &c. Contius and Justus Lipsius exhibit the greatest amount of critical acumen.

Romulus. *Pulsatusve parens aut fraus inuexa clienti.* Servius cites this fragment as part of the law of the twelve tables; but Méru-la, i. § 1, says, that he read in a manuscript copy of Servius: *Ex lege Romuli et XII Tabularum.*

Pliny, H. N., xiv. 13. *Invenimus inter exempla, Egnatii Mecenii uxorem, quòd vinum bibisset é dolio, interfectam fuisse à marito, eumque cædis à Romulo absolutum.* (Compare Val. Maxim., vi. 3, § 9, and Tertull. in *Apolog.*, c. 6.)

Numa forbad (Plut., c. 8) the Romans to give to a god the likeness of a man or any animal. (C. 14.) *Ne libes diis ex vite non putatê.*—Cassius Hemina, cites in Pliny: *Numa constituit ut pisces qui squamosi non essent, ni polluerent parcimoniâ contentas, ut convivia publica et privata, cænæque ad pulvinaria facilius compararentur, ni quid ad pollucium emerent, pretio minús parcerent, eaque præmercerentur.*

Tullus Hostilius. Two ordinances of Tullus regarded as laws,

but which were only temporary provisions. *Duumviri perduellionis* totry Horatius. Livy, i. 26, Dionys. iii. 21.)

APPENDIX XXIV. PAGE 104.

At weddings, the ring was of iron; on the bride's first entering her husband's house, the keys were delivered to her; if she left it repudiated, they were taken from her. A bargain was closed by shutting the hand. A building which was considered illegally raised, was denounced as such, by throwing a stone against it. A commission was entrusted to a person by the other party's giving him his hand, *manu datâ* (*mandat*)—For recovery of an inheritance, the heir snapped with his fingers, *digitis crepabat*; prescription was interrupted by breaking a small branch of a tree. In asking any one to be your witness, the expression was: *licet antestari?* If the reply was *licet*, then the other party said *memento*, touching his witness on the tip of the ear. A father emancipated his son, by giving him a box on the ear. At an auction, when persons wished to make a bidding, they raised one finger. When there was a dispute about the possession of a property, the two parties seized each other's hands, and went through a mock combat; they then ran together, and brought a clod of the ground in dispute. For the latter proceeding there were substituted afterwards two forms, the one pronounced by the prætor, *inite viam*, and the other by a third person, *redite viam*, which answered the purpose of the parties actually making the journey to the land in litigation. A debtor in ceding his property to his creditors, took off and laid down his gold ring. To intimate that a person was about to alienate his slave without security, he exposed him in the market-place, with a hat on his head. When a man claimed a piece of furniture, he put his hand upon it.

Cicero, pro Murena:

"Yet people might very conveniently have gone to law in this manner.—Says one, 'That Sabine estate is mine.' 'No, 'tis mine,' says another.—'Then give judgment.' 'By no means, this wont do,' says the civilian; 'those premises which lie in the Sabine country commonly so called;'—Verbose enough, of all conscience. Well, what next? 'I claim by virtue of the common laws of the land as my property.' What, then? 'And therefore I hereby give you fair and special warning to move off of the premises.' The defendant was then quite at a loss for an answer to this bead-roll of law terms. And then the same lawyer goes on like

a country ballad-singer in the same cant, 'From those premises off of which you have given me fair and special warning to move, I hereby give you warning to move in like manner.' In the meantime, least the prætor should imagine himself happy in having nothing to do with this gibberish, and think himself capable to say something out of his own head, a cant was composed for him likewise, both silly and insignificant : 'The bodies of both parties being present, you are to advance this way.' Now the same sage who was to instruct them to advance was upon the spot ; says he, 'Return this way ;' then they return under the same guide. Even with those long-bearded gentlemen, this was thought a ridiculous farce ; that men who were standing uprightly and conveniently upon a place, should be ordered to move off, in order immediately to return to the same place.

"Everything was infected with the like impertinences : 'With fear I behold thee personally present in court ;' and as, 'But do you comply with the form, to elude the judgment.' While these things were secrets, it was necessary to have recourse to those who possessed them, but after they were published, and came to be more nearly examined and canvassed, they were found quite void of all meaning, but brimful of roguery and folly."

Public as well as private right was subject to formulas. I annex some examples of this :

"The king asked, 'Are ye ambassadors and deputies on behalf of the people of Collatia, to surrender yourselves, and the people of Collatia ?' 'We are.'—'Are the people of Collatia in their own disposal ?' 'They are.'—'Do you surrender yourselves and the people of Collatia, together with your city, lands, waters, boundaries, temples, utensils, all property both sacred and common, under my dominion, and that of the Roman people ?' 'We do surrender them.'—'Well, I receive them.'—Livy, i. 69.

"The following is the manner in which, as we are told, they proceeded on that occasion ; and we have no record of any more ancient treaty. The herald addressed the king in these words : 'Dost thou, O king, order me to strike a league with the Pater Patratus of the Alban nation ?' Having received the king's order, he said, 'O king, I demand vervain from thee.' the king answered, 'Take it pure.' The herald brought clean stalks of that herb from the citadel. He afterwards asked the king in these words : 'Dost thou, O king, constitute me the royal delegate of the Roman people, the Quirites ; including, in my privileges, my attendants and implements.' The king replied, 'Be it without detriment to me, and to the Roman people, the Quirites, I do constitute thee.' The herald was Marcus Valerius, and he made Spurius Fusius Pater Patratus, by touching his head and hair with the vervain. The Pater Patratus is appointed 'adjujurandum patrandum,' that is, to ratify the

league; and this he does in a great many words, which being expressed in a long set form, I may be excused from repeating. Then, after reciting the conditions, he said, 'Hear thou, O Jupiter! hear thou, Pater Patratus of the Alban nation: hear, ye people of Alba: as those conditions, from first to last, have been recited openly from those tablets, or that wax, without fraud or deceit, in such sense as they are most clearly understood here this day, from those conditions the Roman people will not first depart: if they shall, at any time, first depart from them, under authority of the state, through any fraud or deceit, do thou, O Jupiter, on that day, strike the Roman people in like manner as I shall here, this day, strike this swine; and strike them, thou, with greater severity, in proportion as thy power and ability are greater.' So saying, he struck down the swine with a flint stone. The Albans likewise, by their dictator and their priests, repeated their form of ratification and their oath."—Livy, i. 43.

APPENDIX XXV. PAGE 105.

The patricians replied: "What were the new and important schemes which Caius Canuleius had set on foot? No less than the prostitution of the privileges of nobility, and the confounding the rights of auspices, both public and private; that nothing might be left pure and unpolluted; and that, every distinction being removed, no person might know what himself was, nor to what order he belonged. For what other tendency had such promiscuous intermarriages, than to produce an irregular intercourse between patricians and plebeians, not very different from that between brutes?"—Livy, i. 341.

APPENDIX XXVI. PAGE 107.

The downfall of the Falerians closely followed that of Veii. The story of the schoolmaster treacherously delivering up his pupils to Camillus, is stamped with a Greek character, which renders it liable to great suspicion. It is, besides, very unlikely that in a time of siege people would allow children to quit a town. The romantic moderation of the Romans has altogether the air of a fiction, devised, in compliment to the state, by a Greek historian. Behind Falerii was the great city of Vulsinii. The Vulsinians fought Rome, and obtained a truce of thirty years. It was about this period that the Gauls marched against

Clusium, Cœre, and Rome. A plebeian, M. Ceditus, announced to the tribunes, that he had heard a supernatural voice, ordering him to announce to the magistrates the approach of the Gauls. This story would seem very obscure, did not Livy, *Book vii.*, inform us that the Roman aristocracy had interposed in the affairs of Vulsinii. In the Etruscan city, the clients had revolted against their patrons, and had rendered themselves masters of the town. The Roman aristocracy hastened to the succour of the Vulsinian aristocracy, and secured its triumph over the revolted clients. Is it not probable that the same sort of thing occurred some years before? May not the plebeians of Vulsinii have called in the Gauls against the Vulsinian and Roman aristocracy, who opposed them, and the Roman plebeians, in close connexion with those of Vulsinii, have been early informed of the march of the Gauls against Rome? Whereupon they expelled Camillus, the chief of the patrician party, who, on quitting Rome, prayed the gods that the Romans might soon be forced to solicit his return to aid them—a prayer which seems directly to refer to the approach of the Gauls.

APPENDIX XXVII. PAGE 152.

Together with the inscription of Duillius, we will here lay before the reader several other monuments of the ancient languages of Italy.

Volscian Inscription.

Deve. Declune. statom. sepis. Atahus. Pis. Velestrom. faka.
Esaristrom. se. Bim. Asif. Vesclis. Vinu.

Oscan Inscription.

ekkuma ... tribalak ... liimit ... mefa... ist ... entrar ...
 ecce ... tribus ... linûtes... demensa ... est ... intrà ...
 feinuss ... pu ... amf... pert ... viam ... pusstis ... pai ...
fines ... post ... circum ... per ... viani ... posticam ... per ...
 ipisi ... slaci ... senateis ... inim ... iuk ... tribarakini ...
ipsius ... loci ... senatus ... unum ... jugum ... tria brachia ...
 Anfret ... puccahf ... sekss ... puranter ... teremss ... irik ...
auferet ... pauca ... sex ... puriter ... termini ... hircus ...

The Oscan words, akera, anter, phaisnam, tesaur, famel, solum, still remain in the Latin language, *acerra, inter, fanum, thesaurus, famulus, solus.*

Inscription of Duillius.

C-D. M-F. M. N. C. L.
 S ANO.
 D. EXEMET. LECIONES. R.
 AXIMOSQUE. MAGISTRATOS. L.
 OVEM. CASTREIS. EXFOCIONT. MACEL.
 CNANDOD. CEPET. ENQUE. EODEM. MAGIS.
 MNAVEBOS. MARID. CONSOL. PRIMOS. G.
 CVASESQUE. NAVALES. PRIMOS. ORNAVET. PAL.
 CVMQVE. EIS. NAVEBOS. CLASEIS. POENICAS. OM.
 DICTATORED. OL. OM. IN. ALTOD. MARID. PVC.
 NQVE. NAN. ET CVM. SOCIIS. SEPTE.
 OSQUE. TRIREMOSQUE. NAVEIS. X.
 OM. CAPTOM. NVMEI ① ① ① DCC.
 TOM. CAPTOM. PRÆDA. NVMEI. ((1))
 CAPTOM. AES. ((1)) ((1)) ((1)) ((1)) ((1)) ((1))
 ((1)) ((1)) ((1)) ((1)) ((1)) ((1)) ((1)) ((1))
 ((1)) ((1)) ((1)) ((1)) ((1)) ((1)) ((1))
 QVE. NAVALD. PRÆDAD. POPLON.
 CARTAGINIENSIN. NVOS. L.
 FI. CAP.

The inscription of Duillius has been thus restored by Petrus Ciacconius.

Caius Duillius Marci filius consul adversum Carthaginienses in Sicilia rem gerens Egestanos cognatos populi romani arctissima obsidione exemit. Legiones Carthaginienses omnes maximusque magistratus elephantis relictis novem castris effugerunt. Macellam munitam urbem pugnando cepit., inque eodem magistratu prospere rem navibus mari consul primus gessit: remigesque classesque navales primus ornavit paravitque diebus sexaginta, cumque eis navibus classes punicas omnes paratasque summas copias Carthaginienses præsentem maximo dictatore illorum in alto mari pugnando vicit. trigintaque naves cepit cum sociis septirememque ducis quinquiremes triremesque naves vaginti depressit. Aurum captum nummi III. M. DCC. Argentum captum præda nummi C. M. grave captum æs vicies semel centena millia pondo, etc. triumphoque navali præda populum romanum donavit. Captivos Carthaginienses ingenuos duxit ante currum primusque consul de Siculis classeque Carthaginiensium triumphavit earum rerum ergo senatus populusque romanus ei hanc columnam posuit.

“While these things were carrying on, Quintus Fabius Pictor, the ambassador, returned from Delphi to Rome, and read the response of the oracle from a written copy. In it was included

both to what gods supplication should be made, and in what manner. It then stated, 'if you do thus, Romans, your affairs will be more prosperous and less perplexed; your state will proceed more agreeably to your wishes; and the Roman people will be victorious in the contest. After that your state shall have been restored to prosperity and safety, send a present to the Pythian Apollo, out of the gains you have earned, and pay honours to him out of the plunder, the booty, and the spoils; beware how you indulge in insolent presumption.' He recited this translation from the Greek verse."—Livy, xxiii. 11.

Some years after, the magistrates discovered among the archives the poems of the ancient diviner Marcius, predicting a great disaster in Apulia.

"Roman of Trojan descent, fly the river Canna, lest foreigners should compel thee to fight in the plain of Diomede. But thou wilt not believe me until thou shalt have filled the plain with blood, and the river carries into the great sea, from the fruitful land, many thousands of your slain countrymen, and thy flesh becomes a prey for fishes, birds, and beasts inhabiting the earth. For thus hath Jupiter declared to me."

"Romans, if you wish to expel the enemy and the ulcer which has come from afar, I advise, that games should be vowed, which may be performed in a cheerful manner annually to Apollo; when the people shall have given a portion of money from the public coffers, that private individuals then contribute, each according to his ability. That the prætor shall preside in the celebration of these games, who holds the supreme administration of justice to the people and commons. Let the decemviri perform sacrifice with victims after the Grecian fashion. If you do these things properly you will ever rejoice, and your affairs will be more prosperous, for that deity will destroy your enemies who now, composedly, feed upon your plains."—Livy, xxv. 12, and Macrob., i. 17. See Hermann's metrical restoration of these predictions, *Doctrina metrica*, cap. de versu saturnino, p. 614.

Inscriptions on the tomb of the Scipios.

L. CORNELIO. L. F. SCPIO.

AIDILES COSOL. CESOR.

L. CORNELI. L. F. P. N.

SCPIO. QUAIST.

TR. MIL. ANNOS.

GNATUS XXXIII.

MORTUUS. PATER.

REGEM. ANTIOCO.

SUBEGIT.

(Son of Scipio Asiaticus Quæstor; year of Rome, 586.)

L. CORNELIUS. GN. F. GN. N. SCIPIO. MAGNA. SAPIENTIA.
 MULTASQUE. VIRTUTES. ÆTATE. QUOM. PARVA.
 POSIDET. HOC SAXSUM. QUOIEI. VITA. DEFECIT. NON.
 HONOS. HONORE. IS. HIC. SITUS. QUEI. NUNCQUAM.
 VICTUS. EST. VIRTUTEI. ANNOS. GNATUS. XX. IS
 T... EIS. MANDATUS. NE. QUA. IRATIS. HONORE.
 QUEI. MINUS. SIT. MANDATUS.

QUEI APICE. INSIGNE. DIALIS. FLAMINIS. CESISTEI.
 MORS. PERFECIT. UT. ESSENT. OMNIA
 BREVIA. HONOS. FAMA. VIRTUSQUE
 GLORIA. ATQUE. INGENIUM. QUIBUS SEI
 IN. LONGA. LICUISSET. TIBE. UTIER. VITA
 FACILE. FACTIS. SUPERASES. GLORIAM
 MAJORUM. QUA. RE. LUBENS. TE. IN. GRENIO.

SCIPIO. RECIPIT. TERRA. PUBLI. PROGNATUM. PUBLIO. CORNELI.

This Scipio was the son of Africanus, the adopted father of Scipio Æmilianus.

GN. CORNELIUS. GN. F. SCIPIO. HISPANUS
 PR. AID. CVR. Q. TR. MIL. II. X. VIR. SL. JVDIK. X. VIR. SAC. FAC.
 (litibus judicandis, sacris faciendis.)
 VIRTUTIS. GENERIS. MIEIS. MORIBUS. ACCUMULAVI
 PROGENIEM. GENUI. FACTA. PATRI. SPETIEI
 MAJORUM. OBTENNI. LAUDEM. UT. SIBI. ME. ESSE. CREATUM.
 LÆTENTVR. STIRTEM. NOBILITAVIT. HONOR.

(Præter, year 613 of Rome ?)

CORNELIUS L. F. L. N.
 SCIPIO. ASIAGENUS
 COMATUS. ANNORUM
 GNATUS XX.

(Nephew of Scipio Asiaticus).

HIC EST ILLE SITUS, CUI NEMO CIVI' NEQUE HOSTIS
 QUIVIT PRO FACTIS REDDERE OPRÆ PRETIUM.

Epitaph of the first Africanus, by Ennius, cited by Seneca, xix, 109.

— *Tabula Regilli*, Livy, xl. 52. In saturnine verse, according to Atilius Fortunatianus; thus restored by Hermann:

Duello magno dirimundo, regibus subigundis
 Caput, patrandaë paci, pugna hæc exeunti
 Lucio Æmilio, Marci filio, REGILLO
 Auspicio imperio
 Felicitate ductuque ejus inter Ephesum,
 Samum, Chiumque inspectante ipso eos Antiocho,

Cum exercitu omni, equitatu, elephantis, classis regis
 Antiochi incensa, victa, fusa, tusa, fugata est ;
 Ibiq̃ue eo die *de rege* naves longæ
 Sunt omnibus cum sociis captæ tres decemque
 Ea pugna pugnata rex Antiochus regnumque
Ejus in potestatem populi Romani redactum
 Eius rei ergo ædem laribus permarinis vovit.

— Inscription placed by Tib. Sempronius Gracchus in the temple of *Mater Matuta* ; it was in saturnine verse. Liv. xli. 33.

— Senatus-consultus, passed about the year 568. It was found in 1692, in a village of Calabria, engraved on a tablet of brass.

Q. MARCIUS L. F. S. POSTUMIUS L. F. COS.

Q. Marcins, Lucii filius, S. Posthumius, Lucii filius, consules

SENATUM CONSOLUERUNT N. OCTOB. APUD ÆDEM DUELONAI
 senatum consulerunt nonis octobris apud ædem Bellonæ,

SC. ARF. M. CLAUDI M. L. VALERIB P. F.
 Scribendo adfuerunt, M. Claudius M. F., Valerius P. filius,

Q. MINUCI C. F. DE BACANALIBUS QUEI FOIDERATEI ES-
 Q. Minucius, Caii filius, de bacchanalibus qui foederati es-

SENT ITA EXDEICENDUM CENSUERE. NEI QUIS EORUM BACA-
 sent ; ita edicendum censuere : ne quis eorum baccha-
 NAL HABUISSE VELET SEI QUES ESENT QUEI SIBEI DEICERENT
 nalia habuisse vellet. Si qui essent qui sibi dicerent

NECESUS ESE BACANAL. HABERE EEIS UTEI AD PR. UR-
 necesse esse bacchanalia habere, iis ut ad prætorem ur-

BANUM ROMAM VENIRENT DE QUE EEIS REBUS UBEI EORUM VER-
 banum Romam venirent, de que iis rebus ubi eorum ver-

BA AUDITA ESENT UTEI SENATUS NOSTER DECERNERET DUM NE
 ba audita essent, ut senatus noster decerneret, dum ne

MINUS SENATORIBUS C. ADESENT Q. EA RES CONSULERE-
 minus senatoribus centum adessent, cum ea res consulere-

TUR BACAS VIR NE QUIS ADIESE VELET CEIVIS ROMANUS,
 tur. Bachas vir ne quis adesse vellet civis romanus,

NEVE NOMINIS LATIN NEVE SOCIUM QUISQUAM NISEI PR.
 neve nominis latini, neve sociorum quisquam, nisi prætorem

URBANUM ADIESENT IS QUE DE SENATUOS SENTENTIAD DUM NE
 urbanum adessent, is que de senatus sententia, dum ne

MINUS SENATORIQUIS C. ADESENT QUOM EA RES CONSOLE-
 minus senatoribus centum adessent, quum ea res consule-

RETUR JOUSISENT CENSUERE SACERDOS NE QUIS VIR ESET
 retur jussissent, censuere. Sacerdos ne quis vir esset

MAGISTER NEQUE VIR NEQUE MULIER QUISQUAM ESET NEVE PE-
 magister, neque vir neque mulier quisquam esset, neve pe-

CUNIAM QUISQUAM EORUM COMOINEM ABUISE VELET NEVE
 cuniam quisquam eorum communem habuisse vellet, neve

MAGISTRATUM NEVE PRO MAGISTRATUO NEVE VIRUM NEVE
 magistratum neve pro magistratu, neve virum, neve

MULIEREM QUISQUAM FECISE NEVE POSTHAC INTER SED CONJON-
 mulierem quisquam fecisse, neve posthac inter se conju-

RASE NEVE COMUOUISE NEVE CONSPONDISE NEVE COMPRO-
 rasse, neve commovisse, neve conspondisse, neve compro-

MESISE VELET NEVE QUISQUAM FIDEM INTER SED DEDISE VELET
 misisse vellet, neve quisquam fidem inter se dedisse vellet,

SACRA IN DQUOLTOD NE QUISQUAM FECISE VELET NEVE IN PO-
 sacra in occulto ne quisquam fecisse vellet, neve in pu-

PLICOD NEVE IN PREIVATOD NEVE EXTRAD URBEM SACRA QUIS-
 blico, neve in privato, neve extra urbem sacra quis-

QUAM FECISE VELET NISEI PR. URBANUM ADIESET IS QUE
 quam fecisse vellet, nisi prætorem urbanum adisset, is que

DE SENATUOS SENTENTIAD DUM NE MINUS SENATORIBUS C.
 de senatus sententia, dum ne minus senatoribus centum

ADESENT QUOM EA RES CONSOLERETUR JOUISENT CENSUERE
 adessent, quum ea res consuleretur, jussissent, censuere,

HOMINES PLOUS V. OINUORSEI VIREI ATQUE MULIERES SA-
 homines plus quinque universi viri atque mulieres sa-

CRA NE QUISQUAM FECISE VELET NEVE INTER IBEI VIREI PLOUS
 cra ne quisquam fecisse vellet, neve inter ibi viri plus

DUOBUS MULIERIBUS PLOUS TRIBUS ADFUISE VELENT NISEI DE
 duobus, mulieribus plus tribus adfuisse vellent, nisi de

PR. URBANI SENATUOS QUE SENTENTIAD UTEI SUPRAD SCRIP-
 prætoris urbani senatus que sententia, ut suprâ dic-

TUM EST HAICE UTEI IN CONVENTIONID EXDEICATIS NE MINUS
 tum est, hæcce uti in concionibus edicatis ne minus

TRINUM NOUNDINEM SENATUOS QUE SENTENTIAM UTEI SCIENTES
 trinum nundinum, senatus que sententiam uti scientes

ESETIS EORUM SENTENTIA ITA FUT SEI QUES ESENT QUEI AR-
 essetis, eorum sententia ita fuit. Si qui essent qui ad-

VORSUM EAD FECISSENT QUAM SUPRAD DICTUM EST EEIS REM CA-
 vorsum ea fecissent quam supra dictum est, iis rem ca-
 PUTALEM FACIENDAM CENSUERE ATQUE UTEI HOCE IN TABOLAM
 pitalem faciendam censuere, atque uti hocce in tabulam
 AHENAM INEIDERETIS. ITA SENATUS AIQUOM CENSUIT, UTEI QUE
 æneam incideretis. Ita senatus æquum censuit, uti que
 EAM FIGIER JOUBEATIS UBEI FACILUMED GNOSCIER POTISIT AT-
 eam figi jubeatis ubi facillime nosci possit at-
 QUE UTEI EA BACANALIA SEI QUA SUNT EXTRAD QUAM SEI
 que uti ea bacchanalia, si qua sunt extra quam si
 QUID IBEI SACRI EST ITA UTEI SUPRAD SCRIPTUM EST IN DIE-
 quid ibi sacri est, ita uti supra scriptum est in die-
 BUS X. QUIBUS VOBIS TABELAÏ DATAÏ ERUNT, FACIATIS UTEI
 bus decem quibus vobis tabellæ datæ erunt, faciatis uti

DISMOTA SIENT IN AGRO TEURANO
 dimota sint in agro Teurano.

APPENDIX XXVIII. PAGES 174, 212.

142. Yet the following passages would seem to refer to ancient national poetry. Cicer. *Tusc. Quæ.* i. iv. 2. "Gravissimus auctor in originibus dixit Cato, morem apud majores hunc epularum fuisse, ut deinceps, qui accubarent, canerent ad tibiam clarorum viorum laudes atque virtutes.—Nonius, ii. 70. Assâ voce : (aderant) in conviviis pueri modesti, ut cantarent carmina antiqua, in quibus laudes erant majorum, assâ voce, et cum tibicine. [Assâ voce, a solo, without instrumental accompaniment.]—Festus, extr., v. *Camænæ*, Musæ, quod canunt *antiquorum* laudes. (*Cascus*, vetus ; *casmæn*, antiquæ).—Quintilian was not acquainted with this plebeian heroic poem, which, according to Niebuhr, existed in the time of Augustus. *Inst. Orat.*, x. 2, 7.—Cic. *Brutus*. "Atque utinam exstarent illa carmina, quæ multis sæculis ante suam ætatem in epulis esse cantitata à singulis convivis de clarorum vivorum laudibus, in originibus scriptum reliquit Cato."

As to the alleged use of vinegar on this occasion, see in Deluc the refutation of Livy and Appian.

The description of the particular spot only agrees with the characteristics of Mont Cenis, and the tradition of the mountaineers is, that it was there Hannibal passed.

For the passage of the Alps by Hannibal, see Larauza. *Histoire du passage*, &c. 1826.—Letronne, *Journal des savans*, 1819, pp. 22, and 753.—J. A. Deluc, *Histoire du passage*, &c. Genève, 1818.—*Idem*, by Fortia d'Urban, 1821.—*Idem*, by Whitaker, London, 1794.—F. G. de Vaudoncourt, *Hist. des Campagnes d'Hannibal en Italie*, Milan, 1812.—De Saussure, *Voyage dans les Alpes*, 4 and 5.—J. F. Albanis-Beaumont, 1806, 1 and 2 : "Je traversai moi-même l'étroit sentier qui conduit au sommet du Lautaret (route du Mont Genève). C'était le 3 Novembre, époque qui est à peu près celle où Hannibal passa les Alpes. Il était depuis son sommet jusqu'à sa base, entièrement couvert de glaces et de neiges ; tout chemin avait disparu ; l'on ne trouvait pour se diriger que quelques perches plantées de distance en distance, et souvent mon guide, habitant du pays, s'y trompait lui-même. Lorsqu'à ces époques, la *tourmente* vient fondre sur ces régions élevées, elle emporte tout, hommes et mulets, au milieu des tourbillons de neige qu'elle fait voler, et règne sur ces hauteurs avec une fureur et des ravages qu'il faut avoir vus pour s'en faire une idée." Larauza, p. 60.

The following passage will give some idea of the horrors of the Alpine gorges :—Avant d'y arriver, on traversait une gorge étroite, au fond de laquelle se précipitent les eaux d'un torrent... Les avalanches et les ouragans auxquels les habitans de cette vallée sont exposés durant l'hiver, sont tels, que dans une nuit il arrive souvent que les habitations disparaissent sous la neige, dont la hauteur est quelquefois de quinze à vingt pieds... Les habitans sortent de chez-eux à l'entrée de l'hiver, et vont soit en Piémont soit en France où ils exercent les professions de frotteurs, commissionnaires, porte-faix et colporteurs, et ils rentrent au commencement de chaque printemps... Ce sentier scabreux, qui n'est praticable que pendant quelques mois de l'année, n'est guère fréquenté que par des contrebandiers et des déserteurs." (Albanis-Beaumont, *Description des Alpes grecques et cottiennes*, tome ii., 640-3.)

APPENDIX XXIX. PAGE 219.

Pacuvii, *Frag.*

Nam istis qui linguam avium intelligunt,
Plus que ex alieno jecore sapiunt, quam ex suo,
Magis audiendum quam auscultandum censeo.

(Cic., *De divin.*, 1.)

Ego odi homines ignavâ operâ, et philosophâ sententiâ.

(Gell., *xiii.*, 8.)

Adolescens, tamen etsi properas, hoc te saxum rogat
 Uti si adspicias : deinde quod scriptum est, legas :
 Heic sunt poetæ Pacuvii Marci sita
 Ossa ; hoc volebam, nescius ne esses ; vale.

(Gell., 1, 24.)

S. Cæcili, *Frag.*

Nam novus quidem Deus repertus est Jovis.

(Ex *Epistolâ* Priscianus, in *Jovis*.)

L. Accii, *Frag.*

Calones, famuli metellicque, caculæque.

(Ex *Annibalibus* Festus, in *Metelli*.)

Nihil credo auguribus, qui aures verbis divitant

Alienas, suas ut auro locupletent domos.

(Ex *Astyanacte*, Nonius, in *divitant*.)

Multi iniqui atque infideles regno, pauci sunt boni.

(Cic., *De off.*, III.)

L. Lucilii, *Frag.*

Scipiadæ magno improbus objiciebat Asellus ?

Lustrum illo censore malum infelix que fuisse.

(Ex. XI. L. Satyr.—Nonius.)

Nam vetus ille Cato lacesse appellari, quod conscius ipse non
 [erat sibi.]

(Ex. XIV. Lib. Satyr.—Caper apud Pris., in *lcesso*.)

Cohibet et domi Mæstus se Albinus, repudium quod filiæ remisit.

(Ex XVIII., Lib. Satyr.—Nonius in *remittere*.)

Vellem concilio vestrum, quod dicitis, olim,

Cœlicolæ, vellem, inquam, adfuissemu' priore

Concilio.

(Servius, in IX. *Æn.*)

Ut nemo sit nostrum quin aut pater optimu' divum,

Aut Neptunu' pater, Liber, Saturnu' pater, Mars,

Janus, Quirinus pater, nomen dicatur ad unum.

(*Lactantius*, Lib. IV. cap. 3.)

C. Lucilii, *Frag.*

Lactantius, IV. 5.

Nunc verò à mane ad noctem, festo atque profesto

Totus item pariterque die populusque patresque

Jactare indu foro se omnes, decedere nusquam,

Uni se atque eidem studio omnes dedere, et arti,

Verva dare ut caute possint, pugnare dolose,

Blanditia certare, bonum simulare virum se,

Insidias facere, ut si hostes sint omnibus omnes.

Cicero de finibus.

Græcum te Albuti, quam Romanum atque Sabinum,
Municipem ponti, Titi, Anni, centurionum
Præclarorum hominum, ac primorum, signiferumque,
Maluisti dici, Græcè ergò prætor Athenis,
Id quod maluisti, te, quam ad me accedis, saluto,
Χαῖρε inquam, Tite, lictores, turma omni cohorsque,
Χαίρετε hinc hostis Muti Albutius, hinc inimicus.

Cic. in oratore, lib. III.

Quam lepide lexeis compostæ ut tesserulæ omnes,
Arte pavimento, atque emblemate vermiculato,
Crassum habeo generum: ne *rhetoricoter* tu sis.

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